



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Unresolved Issues in Geneva Arms Talks Noted
*LD0608210989 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT
6 Aug 89*

[Text] Geneva August 7 TASS—The 11th round of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms which started in Geneva on June 19 is ending on Monday [7 August].

They had been preceded by a seven-month interval which the U.S. Administration used for analysing its position. The talks were resumed on the basis of the existing agreements in principle and jointly prepared draft documents.

Both sides are satisfied with the 11th round, although several problems are still unresolved. The main unresolved issue concerns the interrelationship of a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons with the observation of the ABM [Antiballistic Missile] Treaty as it was signed in 1972.

The next round will be held shortly after a meeting of the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state next month.

Soviet, U.S. Envoys Assess Progress
*LD0708151289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1349 GMT 7 Aug 89*

[Text] Geneva, 7 August [TASS]—The routine 11th round of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons has ended. Today, the leaders of both delegations exchanged the renewed texts of the documents being elaborated.

Summing up, the head of the Soviet delegation, Yu.K. Nazarkin noted at a news conference here that in the draft treaty on strategic offensive weapons, in the protocols on inspections, re-equipping, and elimination, in memorandum on initial data, and even in the protocol to the agreement on observing the antiballistic missiles treaty, the number of agreed formations has increased, and the number of parentheses which included disputed clauses has correspondingly decreased.

"The only things that have remained unaltered are the draft agreements on the question of space. Here our approaches also remain far apart from each other for progress to have taken place. The American position, as before, is founded on the possibility of deploying antiballistic missile systems, including those based in space, in conjunction with the SDI. This approach contradicts the effective ABM treaty. However, we are seeking agreement on observing this treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and proceed from the position that in objective terms, strategic defensive and offensive weapons are interconnected. For this reason, the conclusion of a treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons is possible only under conditions of the observance of the ABM treaty", Yu.K. Nazarkin said.

The Soviet delegation offered a number of new ideas on how to resolve the main areas of disagreement. The clauses of a future treaty and accompanying documents relating to the problem of verification [kontrol] were subjected to further elaboration and agreement.

The USSR spokesman reported that the next 12th round of talks will start on 25 September this year.

The American side expressed satisfaction at the businesslike and positive atmosphere of the talks, and noted the "necessity and importance" of the work accomplished during the just completed round.

Speaking to journalists, the head of the U.S. delegation, Richard Burt, said: "there were no major achievements, but we have achieved solid progress on a number of matters. We are making firm progress towards achieving stable reductions which will lessen the possibility of nuclear war in the 1990's and subsequent years".

Pasko Expresses Satisfaction
*LD0708150789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 7 Aug 89*

[From the "International diary" program, presented by Yevgeniy Osipovskiy]

[Text] News agencies are giving attention to the completion of the 11th round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments in Geneva. Negotiations, especially if they are on questions such as the limitation of strategic armaments, are a delicate matter. Little information about them gets into the press before they draw to an end. However, the information that is already at hand enables one to reach certain conclusions, something that I suggest my colleagues Vladimir Pasko should do.

[Pasko] First and foremost, one should evidently note that the task of the round consisted in the sides finding out each other's positions. No sensations whatsoever were expected from it. This was the first round of the talks on nuclear talks, it was engaged in elaborating its approaches toward the problems under discussion. During the visit of Secretary of State Baker to Moscow, the United States familiarized the Soviet side with its approach in general terms. And now this position has already been outlined in detail in Geneva. What can be noted?

The United States has confirmed its intention to act on the basis of the text of the joint draft treaty. What was confirmed was agreement on the structure of the levels and sublevels that had already been coordinated, and other provisions of the document. I will remind you that 90 percent of the 400-page draft that is at issue has now been agreed on. Confirmation of the agreed positions means that it is possible for the sides to move forward.

A certain attempt to move ahead has been undertaken and, it seems, successfully. I will remind you that even before the round began, the U.S. Administration had

stated its intention to give special attention at the talks to issues relating to verification. This was reflected in the proposals made by the U.S. side. In particular, the U.S. proposals involved agreeing to set up on a mutual basis a permanent monitoring of specific sites manufacturing ballistic missiles, both countries exchanging selective data on nuclear forces, abandoning the enciphering of telemetric information on ballistic missiles, and the concealment of data on some launches of these missiles.

According to U.S. Ambassador Burt, the discussion of these proposals was of a familiarizing nature. However, by all accounts, work was done on some issues. At any rate, on 26 July the sides reported progress in coordinating the provisions of the protocol on inspecting the order of organization in the verification of the sites manufacturing strategic offensive armaments. But on a whole range of issues, the positions of those taking part in the talks are still diverging. Among them there is still the question of sea-based cruise missiles. The United States is refusing to impose limits on them. Among them is also the problem of air-launched cruise missiles—a problem that has become a nuisance. The United States proposes that the agreed number of warheads should be counted as belonging to the bombers regardless of the actual number they carry. But this approach leads to the emergence of weapons which are not accounted for. And it is impossible to agree to this.

The question that still remains open is that of coordinating the agreement that is being prepared while retaining the 1972 treaty on antiballistic defense. Outlining the position of his leadership, Ambassador Burt stated that finishing work on the agreement must not depend on a settlement of unresolved matters concerning space defense. But there is an objective interconnection between defensive and offensive armaments. This is exactly why the reduction of strategic offensive armaments is possible only provided weapons are not launched into space, something that is guaranteed by the ABM treaty. It seems to me that the U.S. leadership does not fully understand our position. I would not have taken the risk of making this claim if it had not been for the emergence of the following argument: If the USSR shows interest in defense, it, allegedly, may well come to recognize the so-called strategic defense initiative. Such is the idea expressed by none other than Hooper, the leader of the group for space armaments at the talks.

Our attitude toward the SDI is as negative as before. Speaking recently at the U.S. Congress, Marshal Akhromeyev stated with all certainty that if the United States decides to develop a space-launched antimissile defense system, an agreement on the reduction of long-range nuclear armaments will be irrelevant.

The views of the sides on many fundamental questions relating to the strengthening of security are still different. This, too, predetermines the complexity of the talks held in Geneva. But as regards this fact, I would not paint too black a picture. That there are issues on which interests

and positions of the sides are alike and vice versa is as natural as life itself. From the very start we have been saying that there would be problems which require tackling both at the high and at the supreme political level.

The results of the round that has ended will be discussed in particular at the September meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state. What is important is that the sides express interest in continuing the talks. As long as this exists, there is a possibility for the reciprocal solution of most complex problems concerning the limitation of nuclear and space armaments can be found.

Locations of Booster Rocket Tests Announced

*LD0708164689 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT
7 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—The Soviet Union will carry out firings of booster rockets into Pacific areas in the period of between August 11, 1989 and August 21, 1989. The areas will be limited as follows:

A rectangular 41 degrees 23 minutes northern latitude and 174 degrees 26 minutes western longitude, 42 degrees 03 minutes northern latitude and 172 degrees 54 minutes western longitude, 34 degrees 54 minutes northern latitude and 168 degrees 04 minutes western longitude, 34 degrees 14 minutes northern latitude and 169 degrees 36 minutes western longitude.

A circumference of a 30-nautical-mile radius with a centre situated at 0 degrees 15 minutes of southern latitude and 153 degrees 20 minutes western longitude.

The TASS News Agency is authorised to announce that, for the purpose of ensuring security, the Soviet Government requests the governments of other states using sea and air lanes in the Pacific to instruct appropriate bodies that sea and air craft should not call at those areas and air space over them every day between 6:00 and 19:00, local time.

Asaturov Notes 28,000 Soviet Troop Withdrawn

*LD0508172389 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 5 Aug 89*

[Text] The Soviet Union has made public progress in the pullout of its troops from the allied countries. By the first of this month 28,000 troops, 3,500 tanks, 700 artillery pieces, and 120 aircraft have been withdrawn from the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Mongolia. Radio Moscow's military observer, Eduard Asaturov, comments:

[Begin recording] [Asaturov in Russian, followed by superimposed English translation] I would like you to pay particular attention to the amount of tanks withdrawn. Why? NATO's military theoretical magazine [name indistinct] last February referred to my comment on Radio Moscow, the day after Mikhail Gorbachev

announced in the United Nations that the Soviet Union was unilaterally reducing its own forces. The magazine said that even if the reports were true it was still incredible that all the 3000 tanks would be withdrawn from the remaining divisions in Eastern Europe. The authors of the article in the NATO magazine argued that it was impossible for them to believe that 125 tanks would be removed from each tank or motorized infantry division. Meanwhile, it is exactly what has happened. The calculations have proved accurate. So far more than 3,100 tanks have been withdrawn from the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Most of the tanks withdrawn were taken out of the remaining divisions. Armored divisions now have 40 percent less tanks and motorized infantry divisions have armour regiments no more. What NATO experts dismissed as incredible not long ago has now become a reality. One may only add that the Soviet Union will in the near future complete the withdrawal of three armoured divisions from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, which will later be disbanded. Many training armour regiments, (?pontooners), amphibious assault, chemical, and other units have returned home. Airforce units are being moved to bases deep inside Soviet territory. [end recording]

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the allied countries is being carried out in public, says Radio Moscow's

military observer. Military experts from various countries are monitoring the pull-out. A special nongovernmental group of observers keeps a close watch on the departure of Soviet troops, too. The number of troops which have already returned home—28,000—looks more modest than that of pieces of military equipment. It might seem that it is much easier to move manpower than the hardware. This is not so. The future of servicemen affected by cuts has to be arranged in such a way as to rule out emotional strain, or material expenses. Yet one may be certain that all of the troops to be withdrawn will have returned by the announced deadline. Many of them will retire. By the end of 1990 the Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced by 500,000 men.

39 Missile Bases Eliminated to Date

LD0508052489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0000 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] In accordance with the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, the elimination of missile bases at which medium- and shorter-range missiles encompassed by the treaty were previously sited is continuing. To date, 39 missile bases have been eliminated. The next missile base of medium-range missiles will be eliminated in September, this year.

Foreign Ministry's Perflyev 7 Aug News Briefing

Reports Shell Damage to Kabul Embassy
LD0708175189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1630 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Excerpt] A briefing on current international policy questions was held in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center today. Addressing the briefing Perflyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, acquainted Soviet and foreign journalists with the situation in Afghanistan.

[Begin Perflyev recording] Yesterday, 48 rockets were launched around the town, as a result of which 9 people perished and 28 were injured. The rocketing of Kabul is continuing today. One shell hit quite near the USSR Embassy building. There are no victims, but there is material damage. Two shells hit the area immediately adjacent to the embassy. [Passage omitted] [end recording]

Further on Shelling
LD0708180589 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT
7 Aug 89

["Soviet Foreign Ministry—Statement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—During today's shelling of Kabul one of the rockets exploded on the grounds of the Soviet Embassy while two others in close proximity to it. Damage was done to the embassy's office buildings.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry issued a statement which said that "it is not the first time that the USSR Embassy is subjected to deliberate rocket fire by the extremist groups of the intractable Afghan opposition which expresses the interests of the Pakistani military. The Soviet side warned Afghan mercenaries and their patrons about the inadmissibility and dangerous consequences of such actions. However provocations, directly aimed against Soviet people and the Soviet diplomatic mission, continue. It seems that the opposition mercenaries do not realize that the Soviet Union cannot stay indifferent to such criminal actions. All those who have relation to the rocket attacks on the Soviet Embassy in Kabul are directly involved in terrorist activity which is encouraged from outside."

"People in the Soviet Union are outraged by the criminal actions of the Afghan mercenaries against the Soviet diplomatic mission and demand that it be remembered that all the burden of responsibility will rest on those who engage in international terrorism, and they can soon feel it themselves," the statement runs.

Denies Soviet Personnel in Kabul

LD0708130589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1244 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug (TASS)—"Since 15 February of this year, there is not a single Soviet soldier in Afghanistan", Vadim Perflyev, first deputy head of the Information department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing today.

He was commenting on reports by some Western news agencies, quoting the armed opposition in Afghanistan, alleging that 1,500 Soviet military personnel had arrived in Kabul.

The rebels' reports cannot be regarded otherwise than as yet another attempt to justify the collapse of the efforts of the armed opposition to achieve their aims by military means, and as stemming from a desire to justify the failure of predictions that the Kabul government would fall after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, said Vadim Perflyev.

Views Shevardnadze Trip, U.S. Aid
LD0708162189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1430 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] As you know, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, was in Kabul on a brief working visit on 6 August. Material on the visit has been published in our press. At a briefing at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs today, Perflyev, first deputy chief of the information administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, acquainted Soviet and foreign journalists with the interview Shevardnadze gave to the Afghan BAKHTAR agency. The representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs said, in particular:

[Begin Perflyev recording] We are convinced, in Eduard Shevardnadze's interview, that having made a great contribution to the preparation and conclusion of the Geneva Accords, the United Nations Organization can also actively promote the organization of an inter-Afghan dialogue. Unfortunately, there are serious obstacles on this road, above all the escalation of Islamabad's interference in Afghan affairs. Nor can the increase in the anti-Afghan orientation of Saudi Arabia's policy be anything but alarming.

As far as the Afghan opposition is concerned, we are convinced that it does not have a future, and that continuation of the bloodshed is catastrophic for it in every respect. One now can speak with certainty not only about its military failures, but also about its political defeat. It has virtually degenerated into an anti-national, anti-Afghan force. As events show, there can be no talk of any unity within its ranks.

On the other hand, the ruling republican system has convincingly proved to the world its viability and its military-political and moral superiority over its adversaries. Justified fears about the extremists coming to power are growing, even among those strata of the Afghan population which do not regard the present regime with any particular sympathy.

The Soviet Union cannot, of course, take an unconcerned attitude regarding the increase in the U.S. deliveries of the latest weapons to the rebels. Our country will give Afghanistan military aid, including modern weaponry, thus observing our obligations with respect to bilateral treaties. This aid does not contradict the Geneva Accords, while the arms deliveries to the Afghan opposition via Pakistan or by Pakistan itself are a direct violation of these agreements.

At the same time, however, we are ready at any time to halt all military deliveries to Afghanistan on a mutual basis. There are ways of settling the Afghan problem without weapons. A considerable number of ideas on this exist. There is, for example, our proposal, in conjunction with President Najibullah, on the convocation of an international conference on Afghanistan. Our basic aspiration is the establishment of peace and tranquility for the Afghan people. [end recording]

Criticizes Pakistani Interference

LD0708134889 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—Follows a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement read at a news briefing in the ministry's press centre here today:

"U.N. Secretary-General Perez De Cuellar has issued a special statement on Afghanistan, expressing serious concern about the escalation of hostilities in that country and rocket attacks on Afghan cities.

"He stressed the need for a political solution to the Afghan issue and urged the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreements and a search for ways to achieve an early political settlement in Afghanistan.

"The U.N. secretary-general's statement is seen by us as an important and influential step in a situation where opposition groups in Afghanistan, protecting the interests of Pakistan and other countries, are continuing the bloodshed and Islamabad has not stopped interfering in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan. Continued conflict in that country is exacerbating the suffering and privations of Afghan people.

"Issues connected with the fulfilment of the agreements on Afghanistan, signed in Geneva in April 1988, are now at the heart of the Afghan problem. One has to state

again that they are being shamelessly violated by those continuing to hope for a military solution and ignoring appeals by the world community and the Afghan Government for peace.

"In these conditions, as Perez De Cuellar emphasises in his statement as well, inter-Afghan dialogue with a view to forming a broadly-based government is needed ever more urgently.

"The Soviet Union, for its part, has always done and will continue doing everything to ensure a course of events which would lead to national accord among the Afghans. The Afghan people themselves should decide their destiny."

The statement was read out by Vadim Perfileyev, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

Discusses Afghanistan, 'Ubayd, Rehabilitations

LD0708161689 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—First Deputy Chief of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate Vadim Perfileyev said at a briefing in Moscow that the statement the U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar made on Afghanistan, stressing the need for a political settlement of the Afghan question, was received in the USSR as an important and weighty step in the present situation. Perfileyev said that, defending the interests of Pakistan and other countries, the opposition groupings in Afghanistan continued the bloodshed and that Islamabad did not desist from its interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that fulfilment of the accords on Afghanistan was being frustrated by those who continued to hope for a military solution and ignored the appeals of the world community and the Afghan Government for the establishment of peace.

Perfileyev acquainted journalists with the content of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's interview with the Afghan BAKHTAR News Agency.

Perfileyev expressed a profound Soviet concern over the deepening crisis in Lebanon caused by the capture of Shaykh 'Ubayd, the Lebanese Shi'ite leader. The Soviet Union is firmly convinced, Perfileyev said, that in the present situation all sides should above all display composure, self-control and goodwill in order to undo the knot. For its part, the USSR is making intensive and purposeful efforts designed to prevent the violence from escalating and the events from getting out of hand.

The journalists at the briefing were informed about a regular meeting of the USSR Foreign Ministry commission to study the documents and prepare proposals on rehabilitating the officials of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs (the former name for the Soviet Foreign Ministry).

By now, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, among other things, we know the names of 113 purged ranking officials of the diplomatic and consular services: 7 deputies of the people's commissar (foreign minister), 48 authorized representatives (ambassadors) of the USSR, 30 department chiefs and 28 heads of consular missions. 101 out of them have already been rehabilitated. The Commission was told to intensify the work of studying the relevant archive documents to prepare proposals on rehabilitating other Foreign Ministry officials. During its work the commission adopted a decision to commemorate the purged diplomats by installing a memorial plaque in the Foreign Ministry building.

Notes USSR Appeal to Israelis

LD0708141389 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—A Soviet spokesman said the Soviet Union was deeply concerned with the crisis following the kidnapping of Shaykh 'Ubayd, the leader of Lebanese Shi'ites. Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, made this comment at a briefing here today.

The Soviet Union is convinced that in the current situation all sides need to display composure, self-control and good will to find a way out. One should bear in mind that people's life is involved and the human aspect should be paramount in any decisions that can be taken now. The possible dramatic consequences for Lebanon, as well as for the situation in the region on the whole, in the case of rash steps, should be taken into account with all responsibility.

Perfilyev said that for its part the Soviet Union takes intensive purposeful efforts to prevent further escalation of violence and the uncontrolled development of events. The Soviet side made a relevant appeal to the Israeli Government, on whom further developments depend most of all. The Soviet side maintains permanent contacts with the leaders of some other countries of the region who can help overcome the crisis in one way or another.

Comments on Bloch, Austrian Neutrality

AU0708200989 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1600 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Helmut Opletal report on news conference by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy in Vienna on 7 August—recorded; Petrovskiy statements in English with superimposed German translation; passages printed in italics heard in English]

[Text] At the beginning of his news conference, the Soviet deputy foreign minister explained Moscow's ideas about a reorganization of the United Nations. The

Soviet Union wants to upgrade the World Security Council—among other things, by powers to solve worldwide environmental problems—and the International Court of Justice. According to Petrovskiy, the Soviet Union itself has given up all previous reservations about arbitration proceedings, and Moscow will now also accept judicial decisions on human rights issues. The world also must be prepared to spend more money on UN measures to preserve peace, for example, peace and observer troops. He can envisage the extension of such missions to maritime territories threatened by crises, that is, UN naval forces to preserve peace.

Then the news conference dealt with other questions, such as the spy case of U.S. diplomat Bloch. Petrovskiy said laughing:

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] *You know there is not yet, I understand, a clear thinking on this matter in the United States. So I have nothing to comment on this matter.* [end recording]

Soviet Ambassador Gennadiy Shikin, who was also present, added some words:

[Begin Shikin recording in German] I cannot add anything to Mr Petrovskiy's statements on this matter. As far as I am concerned, I met Mr Bloch only twice at some receptions, and that was that. [end recording]

Then Petrovskiy was asked about his opinion on Belgian Foreign Minister Eyskens' proposal that the EC and Soviet Union should negotiate on Austria's neutrality.

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] *First of all, these negotiations are a matter of relations between the countries. We believe that there are two sides: on the one hand, the economic side. We understand Austria's interest in economic relations with the EC. We ourselves are also seeking economic and ecological relations with the EC. On the other hand, this dialogue between Austria and the EC should proceed based on the realities. Here we also have to consider the military aspect of this affair, and neutrality is an important element in creating a new situation in Europe. We attach great importance to Austria's role in this European process. Neutral Austria—well, this is a fact which has been incorporated in the European development and which has a strong legal background in the State Treaty of 1955.* [end recording]

Responds to Report of U.S. Warheads in FRG

LD0708150489 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—Addressing a briefing in Moscow today, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, commented on a report in the magazine DER SPIEGEL that nuclear warheads dismantled from U.S. cruise missiles BGM-109G and Pershing-2 missiles will again appear in

the FRG on new tactical missiles which are to be deployed in Europe by the United States by 1995. The magazine refers to a decision taken by the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee.

According to DER SPIEGEL's allegation, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said, the Soviet-American INF Treaty does not forbid the use on tactical missiles of nuclear warheads of the above missiles which are to be eliminated under the INF Treaty.

He pointed out that such an allegation is at variance with the provisions of the protocol on procedures governing the elimination of missile systems provided for by the INF Treaty. The protocol on elimination, an inseparable part of the treaty, defines that the warheads of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, that is heads of U.S. cruises BGM-109G and Pershing-2 missiles, should be eliminated as provided for by the document, said Perflyev.

International Seminar Views UN Peace-Keeping Role

Petrovskiy Supports UN Operations

LD0408214289 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Vienna August 4 TASS—An international diplomatic seminar on the problems of U.N. peace-keeping operations is being held in ancient Klesheim Castle near the Austrian city of Salzburg.

Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister addressed the seminar on Friday.

One can now firmly say that it is no longer possible to imagine world politics without U.N. versatile activities, he said. "This organisation is not alienated from solutions to any of acute global problems agitating mankind and uppermost in the minds of everyone of us. These are relaxation of tensions, confrontation, disarmament, a settlement of regional conflicts, confidence-building, and greater interaction, including that in the economic and ecological spheres, and the assertion of the primacy of law and ethics."

"The current revival of the U.N. role is inseparably connected with an improvement of the international climate and the introduction of new political thinking to the fabric of international relations.

"A reassessment of the place and role of the United Nations in the system of international coordinates and resolute counting on its peace-making and preventive functions are a major component of new approaches.

"The process of renewal taking place in the international community highlight from a new angle the question of U.N. peace-making activities called upon to oust the use of military force from international relations."

Having pointed out the important role which the United Nations play in the efforts to settle regional conflicts, Petrovskiy said that the situation concerning many of them is now characterised by the predominance of positive signs. These are, primarily, the situation in South Western Africa and an Iran-Iraq settlement.

The conclusion of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan which paved the way for a settlement and for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country, became a major landmark of U.N. endeavours.

Substantial changes are taking place in the political picture of the Middle East conflict. Ways to solve problems connected with the Western Sahara, Central America, and Cyprus have become visible.

Taking into account the experience in settling the Afghan situation and the development of processes connected with other conflict situations, one can say that a number of common elements are now coming into view and could subsequently be adopted as a basis for a model for settling regional conflicts.

These are mediation, including that on the part of the United Nations and the U.N. secretary general, a cease-fire, a withdrawal of foreign troops, national reconciliation, political pluralism, the provision of international guarantees of the implementation of accords, and self-restraint of great powers.

Having pointed out that the Soviet Union favours the most flexible forms of decision making on operations, the forms which would take into account in each concrete case the entire specifics of circumstances and ensure promptness and effectiveness required by the interests of maintaining international peace and security, Petrovskiy called for forming a system for early detection of crises and conflicts.

It is exceptionally important that the United Nations have full information on the development of the situation in various spheres of international relations and in individual regions of the world and could thoroughly analyse the information, warn about an accumulation of crisis factors, and serve as a self-regulating mechanism for their elimination.

With this end in view, it is perhaps promising to steer matters towards making the United Nations organisation a basis for the establishment of a war risk prevention centre.

Austria Seminar Ends

LD0508213489 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Vienna August 6 TASS—An international diplomatic seminar on problems of the U.N. peacekeeping force ended its work in the old Klesheim Castle near Salzburg, Austria, on Saturday.

This annual forum, organized by the Austrian Foreign Ministry, was attended by prominent political and public figures from more than 20 countries, commanders of U.N. military contingents in different parts of the world, eminent diplomats and representatives of the U.N. secretariat.

The Soviet delegation was led by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy who read out the Soviet programme of stepping up the role of the United Nations and its governing bodies in organizing and holding peacekeeping operations in different parts of the world.

The seminar also discussed questions of financial, material and technological support of the U.N. forces and improve opportunities of their transportation to different parts of the world, and mapped out a program of joint actions to increase the U.N. forces' role in maintaining stability in different regions.

Petrovskiy Views Future UN Role

*LD0608215989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 6 Aug 89*

[Text] [Announcer] An international seminar, in which scientists and diplomats from 22 countries are participating, has ended its work in the Austrian city of Salzburg. Its main subject was increasing the United Nations peace-making potential. Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, took part in the seminar and spoke about the Soviet side's position on the problem under discussion.

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] We believe that it is impossible to not only enter an era of peace, but also to create a nuclear, nonviolent world without relying on the authority and practical potential of the United Nations. Virtually everyone agreed with this at the seminar.

A great deal of attention was devoted to the question of how to conduct UN peace-keeping operations in the future, in other words how to utilize UN troops and military observers. Fairly extensive practical experience has been accumulated in this work, but the question of conducting operations will assume practical significance from now on, now that we have set the task of returning troops to their national territories by the year 2000 and eliminating all foreign military bases. For this reason, we shared our ideas about how to organize these operations via the Security Council, how to become more actively engaged not only in the settlement of a crisis but also in its prevention, and how to fund UN operations.

I must say that I personally am concerned by the fact that an incorrect stereotype has been formed in the public mind. There is inadequate understanding of the fact that the UN peace-keeping operations must be funded. This money is not, however, comparable to what is spent on military preparations; not to mention the fact that it brings immense practical returns. I think that the discussion which was held in connection with our speech has made it possible to sound out a range of new approaches.

At the forthcoming 44th session of the UN General Assembly we will try to implement all these ideas and proposals, which by that time will be in the form of concrete decisions and resolutions.

'International Situation' Views Military Conversion

*LD0408135989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 4 Aug 89*

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program, conducted by Andrey Ptashnikov, foreign political commentator of All-Union radio, with TASS military observer Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernyshev, and commentator Viktor Levin]

[Excerpts] [Ptashnikov] Greetings comrades. After perestroika, new political thinking, and the democratization of all aspects of the life of Soviet society, another concept has entered into circulation here—conversion. It is now quite well known that this term means quite a sharp changeover of military potential to resolving economic and social tasks, the reorientation of special plants to produce civilian output, and changing the defense industry and science from being a consumer into a major producer of national income.

What place does conversion occupy in the process of disarmament? This question is asked by a quite a lot of our listeners. I think that it can best be answered by a specialist. Therefore, I have asked Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernyshev, TASS observer on military questions, to take part in our broadcast. So, over to you.

[Chernyshev] As you will recall, at the UN General Assembly session last December Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev submitted a proposal that all states, in particular the major powers, should present to the United Nations their national plans for the conversion of military production. The thought was also expressed of the desirability of establishing a group of scientists and giving them the task to analyze in-depth the problem of conversion as a whole and as applicable to individual regions and countries to report back to the UN secretary general, and also of the appropriateness of examining this question at a session of the General Assembly.

In this way the USSR called the attention of the world community to an extremely topical theme—the change-over from an economy of armaments to one of disarmament. The Soviet proposal on plans for conversion follows on logically from the methodology of new thinking. Disarmament should not be restricted to reducing the numbers of personnel in the armed forces and the destruction of a certain proportion of the existing arsenals of armaments and military equipment. An inalienable component part of the whole disarmament process should be the curtailing of military production. Only in this way can the irreversibility of disarmament be ensured and the logical chain of the arms race be broken.

Conversion is closely tied to the basic components of the universal system of international security. In the military sphere it interfaces with the concept of reasonable sufficiency for defense, the program for the elimination of means of mass destruction, the reduction of armed forces and armaments, and in the economic sphere to resolving the social and economic tasks of states, and the unification of efforts to resolve global problems.

The point of departure for conversion is of course the political decision on disarmament. Military-political decisions on reductions in troops and armament transfer the problem of conversion onto the plane of practical deeds. The timely drafting of national plans for conversion means that when routine breakthroughs are achieved in the disarmament process and in international detente, opportunities are ensured for carrying out most smoothly and efficiently the reorientation of the liberated material and personnel resources into peaceful channels.

[Ptashnikov] Thus, as I see it, there is a direct link between the military-political situation in the world and the conversion of military production.

[Chernyshev] Yes, undoubtedly. But I would like to note further that this link is much more multifaceted. There is not just a direct link between military political detente and conversion, but also feedback. Let us consider the matter. If measures to demilitarize the economy are a reaction to positive movements in international relations, then they themselves can give rise to these movements. Thus, it would seem that the elaboration and publication of plans for conversion and practical measures undertaken by a state in this sphere are proof of its peaceful intentions; consequently they are a fundamental factor raising trust between opposing sides and facilitate the conclusion of agreements in the disarmament sphere.

I would stress another point, too. The effectiveness of the struggle against the arms race depends to a large extent on how convincing and serious are the arguments of specialists on the harmful effects of the race to step up military potentials, on the necessity for converting military production, and the positive effect of this conversion on the economy, the social sphere, and international relations. Thus, practical measures to curtail military production and plans for conversion have a very important role to play in broadening the front of the struggle for disarmament.

[Ptashnikov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, the USSR has already started curtailing military production. Could you please tell us what is already being done in this direction.

[Chernyshev] First of all, I would like to point out that our country has started to reduce its military budget. Without a doubt, for the Soviet people, who underwent a terrible war, a reliable defense has been and remains a vitally important issue, just as the Soviet Army remains for the people something they show concern for.

But in the modern world there are increasing opportunities to ensure security by political and diplomatic means. This makes it possible to reduce military expenditure and military production on the basis of giving a new quality to the USSR Armed Forces without detriment to the country's defense capability. In 1987 and 1988 the USSR's military expenditure was frozen. This resulted in a budget savings, compared with what had been envisaged by the 5-year plan, of R10 billion. In 1989 military expenditure amounts to 77.3 billion. In 1990-1991 it is planned to reduce military expenditure by a further R10 billion, that is by 14 percent. Altogether then, taking account of the proposed reductions in expenditure in the next 2 years, the total savings in defense spending, compared with the confirmed plan, will amount to almost R30 billion. By 1995 it is envisaged that the proportion of our defense expenditure from the national income will decrease by one third to a half.

During 1989-90 the production of armaments in our country will be reduced by almost 20 percent. For example, production of tanks is being radically reduced. By the end of 1990 tanks production will be reduced by over 40 percent.

In implementing the conversion of military production, the USSR is directing the liberated capacities and resources to resolve social and economic tasks. Such measures create a possibility for increasing considerably—by 50-100 percent—the output of equipment for the agro-industrial complex, light industry, trade, and public catering.

Under the influence of conversion the structure of production in the defense complex is changing radically. If today the proportion of civilian products within the total output of the sector is 40 percent, by the end of the current 5-year plan it will be 46 percent; and in 1995 over 60 percent. But other measures are being taken apart from conversion measures. Some military enterprises which cannot be used for civilian production are being totally closed down. In particular, the USSR has decided to cease production of highly enriched uranium for military purposes this year. Last year we closed an industrial reactor making weapons-grade plutonium. Next year it is planned to close down a further two such reactors and not to introduce new capacities to replace them.

[Ptashnikov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, could you cite any specific data directly concerned with conversion measures which are being undertaken in our defense industry.

[Chernyshev] Yes, such data already exist. Guided by the decisions to reorient the national economy toward satisfying social demands, the defense sectors have been instructed to ensure an intensified creation of new high technology civilian products and sophisticated domestic goods. This concerns primarily medical equipment. In

1989 the production of such equipment by defense sectors enterprises will reach almost R240 million and in the long-term the annual output will be raised to at least R1 billion.

The defense complex should make a much greater contribution to satisfying the demands of the population for cultural and domestic goods. Today defense industry workers produce about R30 billion worth of such goods per year, or 22 percent of the country's total production of them. In 1990 the increase will be 33 percent. It is proposed that in the 13th 5-year plan the complex will produce R250-270 billion worth of these goods, which is double the task of the current 5-year plan.

The defense industry will carry out a great amount of work in producing equipment for the light and food industries; 345 works in the defense sectors have already been utilized in tackling this issue as well as over 200 design bureaus engaged in creating military equipment and armaments. In accordance with the plan drawn up in the USSR for the coming 8 years, 1988-95, the defense sectors will create 3,000 new types of equipment for the sectors engaged in processing agricultural produce. The total volume of deliveries of modern equipment for enterprises engaged in processing agricultural raw materials will be R37 billion, and R17.5 billion of this will be from defense enterprises.

[Ptashnikov] the intensive transfer of the military industry into a peaceable channel, as we know, has been welcomed at the congress of People's Deputies and in the USSR Supreme Soviet. However, some of our listeners express the opinion—perhaps not an opinion, but I would say they express some doubts—will not all of this reduce our defense capacity?

[Chernyshev] Yes, this question was raised at the congress, too. The country's leadership considers that the consistent reduction of expenditure on defense and the conversion of the military industry signifies that our approaches to ensuring the country's defense capacity should be constructed exclusively on the basis of the demands of reasonable sufficiency. At the same time, the principle of reasonable sufficiency should be backed up by the further technical re-equipment of the armed forces on a qualitatively new basis. And as long as the circumstances require this, the government and the peoples deputies will give the army all-around support and attention. The country's defense capability will always be at a level corresponding to the threat.

[Ptashnikov] Thank you, Vladimir Nikolayevich. Continuing our program, I would like to note that one of the most important international events of the past week has been the international conference on Cambodia which is taking place in the capital. [passage omitted] How can we

assess the present stage of the talks? From the point of view of results, it is not particularly productive, to put it bluntly. More likely the contrary. In Paris all the contradictions were brought out which exist between the opposition and the Phnom Penh government on the one hand and, on the other those within the opposition, itself. The first is quite understandable. The second circumstance is due to the heterogeneity of the opposition groups. In spite of the fact that there is a recognized leader—Narodom Sihanouk—his group is not sufficiently strong. More numerous is the National Front for the Liberation of the Khmer People, headed by Son Sann. And, of course, the strongest group is the Khmer Rouge headed by Khieu Samphan. According to the press it numbers 40,000. It is they who are responsible for the crimes against the Khmer people.

The heterogeneity of the opposition was manifested during the roundtable when Sihanouk began to draw back from the accord reached at the Jakarta talks in 1988-89 about linking the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia with preventing the Khmer Rouge from coming to power in the country.

This question is fundamental for a settlement. The possibility has now been created for the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and it will be completed at the end of this September. But things are more complicated with regard to the second part of the accord. Reports are now coming in from Cambodia that the Khmer Rouge are concentrating forces in the regions bordering on Thailand. The possibility is not excluded that they intend to make use of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops to unleash a civil war and to try to repeat what Pol Pot succeeded in doing in the past when he seized Phnom Penh.

This turn of events can be avoided only by political means, by means of a dialogue between the sides with the provision of international guarantees. It is these questions, in particular which the international conference on Cambodia in Paris is tackling. The participants in the conference should work out a mechanism which satisfies the sides for implementing the process of settling the problems. A commission has been set up for this purpose and the results of its work will be presented to the heads of the delegations at the conference. Very complicated and lengthy work still lies ahead. To this one can add that the Khmer people are tired of the drawn out conflict. They need the establishment of a firm peace on their land. And all the efforts of the Cambodian sides and of the whole international community should serve this noble and just aim. Moreover, without the settlement of the Cambodian problem the prospects for turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability remain illusory.

United States & Canada

Capitol Hill Debates on Arms Spending Viewed

PM0808101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian

7 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Gan article under the rubric "From the Scene of Events": "Split on Capitol Hill"]

[Text] Washington—When the U.S. Congress is presented with its next electricity bill, for the end of July and beginning of August, it will probably be for an impressive amount. The "artificial sun" which has blazed for 2 weeks in succession on Capitol Hill has not been setting until very late in the evening and sometimes even deep in the night. The vigil by senators and members of the House of Representatives has been explained by the need to get to grips with a program of exceptional importance: the draft military budget for the 1990 fiscal year.

The battles on the hill have drawn attention, especially as it is a question of the first military budget under the Bush administration and, by association, the White House's military-political and strategic perception of the world now, at a time when there has been a noticeable reduction in international tension and a radical revision of Soviet military doctrine. There is not really any need to analyze this perception in detail. I think it is enough just to say that one of the denominators is the opinion, still strongly insinuated, that the Soviet Union poses a threat to the United States as before.

In principle, America has long been used to outbursts of anti-Soviet demagoguery timed to coincide with debates on Pentagon allocations. Now, however, against the background of positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations and trends toward their improvement, this demagoguery perhaps appears particularly ugly and inappropriate.

In close union with the White House, the tone has naturally been set by the Pentagon, led by Secretary of Defense R. Cheney, who has endeavored to prove the "acute need to restrain the evolving Soviet threat." None of Cheney's official statements to Congress have found room for even a simple mention of the political changes of recent years produced, for example, by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. Defending the biggest, most destabilizing weapons systems, including the "MX" and "Midgetman" missiles, B-2 bombers, and SDI, the cabinet secretary, Pentagon officials, and even Bush himself have used the kind of tactics which one expert described as "arms control blackmail."

This description is rather apt. Legislators have virtually been told that, as the U.S. position at talks with the Soviet Union is based on the program of strategic modernization begun by Reagan in 1981, the removal of any of its "critically important elements" will force a review of the U.S. approach and possibly even the termination of the program....

It cannot be categorically said that these arguments combined with the personal lobbying campaign conducted by Bush, Cheney, and other high-ranking members of the administration have achieved their goal. When, after Wednesday's vote in the Senate—the House of Representatives had voted several days before—the results began to be summed up, the picture proved to be unusually mixed. Although the versions offered by the two chambers provide for the same level of military expenditure to the tune of \$305.5 billion, they differ sharply in the size of allocations for the main Pentagon programs.

The draft military budget approved by the Senate has been described as a "courtesy to Bush," and it appears that the president should primarily be grateful for this courtesy to S. Nunn, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, who used his colossal authority among the legislators. Nunn's active support of the White House position largely determined the outcome of the vote. The senators did not interfere with the government request for funds for the "MX" and "Midgetman" missiles and agreed to the construction, over the next 2 years, of another eight B-2 "stealth" bombers, which, as they cost almost \$500 million apiece, have become a visible symbol of militarist squandering. The "Star Wars" program has not essentially suffered: It is planned to allocate \$4.5 billion to meet its needs.

Failing to follow the example set by the Senate, the House of Representatives has virtually defeated the military priorities of the administration. The request for funds for the "MX" missile has been substantially cut and all funds refused for the "Midgetman" missile. The Pentagon has been allowed to build only four B-2 bombers over the next 2 years, and even that carries the proviso that the entire program could be stopped if its cost is not reduced. The majority of legislators agreed with the opinion expressed by B. Boxer, member of the House of Representatives, who has described SDI as "a threat to arms control," and cut allocations from 4.9 to 3.1 billion dollars....

Observers are now discussing the "revolt in the House" against Bush's military-strategic plans. It is widely believed that the mood of many Congressmen has been influenced by the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. The newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, for example, wrote of the opinion in the House of Representatives that "in the era of restructuring there is no point spending big dollars on nuclear weapons." It is certainly true that during the debates on Capitol Hill it has been possible to perceive moves—albeit not always consistent, but moves nevertheless—in a positive direction in Congressmen's views and attitudes under the influence of our transformations. Obviously there can be no talk of any radical turnaround, but it does seem possible to say that legislators are beginning to look at the Soviet Union "with open eyes."

As a whole, however, these debates on military matters have produced little in the sense of reaching a consensus on U.S. national security policy in a rapidly changing world and adapting it to the new international realities. Perhaps this will happen in the fall, when the Senate and House of Representatives Conference Committee will set about removing the differences in the two versions of the Pentagon budget. But probably not: The winds of new thinking are still finding it very hard to reach the Potomac.

U.S. Congress Reduces Arms Appropriations
LD0608133289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0730 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Interview with Thomas Foley, speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, by correspondent Boris Kalyagin; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction—recorded]

[Text] The latest stage in the work of the U.S. Congress is over. The House of Representatives had voted for significant reduction of appropriations for the new types of the strategic arms. Isn't this decision an answer of some sort to the changes in the Soviet Union, to the peaceful initiatives of our country that no doubt couldn't fail to draw the attention of congressmen? Our correspondent Boris Kalyagin addressed this question to Thomas Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress.

[Begin Foley recording in English, with superimposed Russian translation by Kalyagin] I think that to a certain and fairly important extent, it is really our answer. The Soviet Union today appears to Americans to be much more interested in reconciliation, in achieving international agreements on arms control, reduction of conventional arms; all these influence the mood of the citizens of our country. I think that President Gorbachev has managed to convince many Americans, including the members of Congress, that today there are greater possibilities for cooperation, and the international situation has become less threatening. Another reason for such a vote is the cost of arms. Both our countries are facing the problem of huge expenditures on modern arms. The cost of one B-2 bomber reaches \$500 million per plane, or \$70 billion for 132 bombers. People question whether it is so necessary now. We need money to develop education, health service, other needs. On the other side, many Congress representatives say that the final say in the matter depends on how our two countries will cooperate in the near future. But the changes that have already taken place are simply remarkable. Of course, in the Congress there are people who say that the policy of the Soviet Union might change, that President Gorbachev can be succeeded by another statesman who will again start to increase the Soviet military forces. But, nevertheless, the mood of the people is an important factor we all need to take into consideration. [end recording]

Reportage on Visit to Sevastopol by U.S. Sailors

U.S. Naval Squadron Welcomed
LD0408131989 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Sevastopol August 4 TASS—By TASS correspondents Oleg Moskovskiy and Mikhail Stetsyuk:

Sevastopol coastal batteries fired a salute of nations as the U.S. naval squadron, which arrived there on an official friendly visit, eased into the harbour. Changes were made in the squadron's composition on the very eve of the call. The cruiser "Belknap" could not take part in it and the visit is now headed not by Vice-Admiral James Williams, but by Vice-Admiral Paul Ilg, assistant commander-in-chief of U.S. Naval Forces in Europe.

On permission of the commander of the U.S. squadron, which now includes the cruiser "Thomas S. Gates" and the frigate "Kauffman", foreign pressmen were taken on board the former 12 miles of Sevastopol.

They were surrounded by an atmosphere of goodwill and openness from the very first minutes on board. Every member of the crew wore a badge with Soviet and American flags, symbolizing growing cooperation between the two countries.

Vice-Admiral Paul Ilg said that their visit to the Soviet Union would undoubtedly be one more proof of improving American-Soviet relations, a step towards the establishment of stable and business-like contacts between the two countries in the military domain, too.

According to the 51-year-old vice-admiral, who has spent 30 years in the Navy, Soviet pressmen were the first Soviets to board this latest U.S. cruiser. He said that the vessel was commissioned in 1987. Its total displacement is 9,600 tons, maximum speed—30 knots, complement—370 men.

As tradition has it, a Soviet flag was hoisted over the warship instead of the American when the vessel was moored. Sailor Michael Waters, charged with the task, said he was proud and happy to raise the Soviet flag.

Thousands of townsfolk and Black Sea navymen came to welcome the American sailors. Sevastopol schoolgirls Ira Buyalskaya and Marina Titova presented Vice-Admiral Paul Ilg with the traditional Russian bread and salt.

Paul Ilg called on Admiral Mikhail Khronopulo, commander of the Black Sea fleet, and on the mayor of Sevastopol Yevgeniy generalov, who repaid the visits on the same day.

Taking part in the welcoming ceremony was the U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock.

U.S. Sailors Tour City

LD0508161289 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Sevastopol August 5 TASS—Russians can be our friends, said Vice-Admiral Paul Ilg. The deputy commander of the U.S. Navy in Europe was interviewed by TASS during the ongoing official friendly visit to this city on the Black Sea coast of the group of American warships.

"It is the second day of my visit to Sevastopol but I have already befriended many Russian people," he said. The vice-admiral said he did not even suppose that such a hospitable reception will be accorded to American seamen. "They are pleased to see us and it is very pleasant", he said.

In Ilg's opinion, just two years ago it was hard even to imagine Soviet and American admirals cordially shaking hands.

Today, Ilg toured the Sapun Hill, the place of fierce battles for Sevastopol during the Second World War. The commemorative complex was built there to honour the fallen soldiers. The vice-admiral laid a wreath at the obelisk of glory. Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, took part in the wreath laying ceremony.

Meetings aboard ships, at industrial plants and in the streets of the city between American sailors and seamen of the Black Sea fleet are held in a warm and unconstrained atmosphere.

In the evening artists of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the Soviet Black Sea fleet give joint performances on Sevastopol concert grounds. Soviet and American lads will compete in volleyball and soccer matches. Let sports competitions be in the future the sole place where we confront each other, both Americans and Soviet people say.

U.S. Sailors Continue Visit

LD0608193789 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT
6 Aug 89

[Text] Sevastopol August 6 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Oleg Moskovskiy and Mikhail Stetsyuk:

U.S. naval ships which arrived in Sevastopol three days ago continue the official friendly visit to this Soviet Black Sea port—the main base of the Soviet Black Sea fleet.

The American guests went sightseeing today. They visited the internationally famous Panorama of Frants Rubo telling about Sevastopol's defence in the years 1854-1855. Soviet and American sailors played friendly matches in football and volleyball, and held athletic competitions.

Soviet sailors have prepared an interesting programme for their overseas guests. One of its most important parts was a visit to the Slava missile cruiser, the pride of the Soviet Navy, and the anti-missile cruiser Leningrad. The American sailors noted that the ships were kept in perfect order and praised the high skills of their crews.

The American sailors are being impressed by the warm reception given to them by the people of Sevastopol. 22-year-old mechanic Bryan Pick has been in the navy for four years and has to serve another two years under a contract. He lives in the town of Fal in Massachussets. His bride lives in the same town and they are going to get married next April. Bryan told TASS that he had looked forward to his visit to the Soviet Union. He wanted to know what the Russians were like. He was very glad to find them friendly and hospitable. [TASS International Service in Russian at 0933 GMT on 6 August in a similar report adds: "So, it is not surprising that the remark by Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR at a reception in honor of the military and municipal authorities stating 'the visit by Soviet warships to Norfolk and the visit by U.S. ships to Sevastopol are events of extreme importance,' was received with applause."]

Brzezinski's Opinion on Perestroika Hit

PM0708115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[Vitaliy Korionov article under the "View From Moscow" rubric: "In Thrall to Illusions"]

[Text] The processes currently under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are now a very major factor in the political life of the modern world. There is the keenest interest shown in them everywhere. And this is understandable, since the future of the other peoples and the future of universal peace depend to no small extent on how matters progress in the socialist part of the world.

Perestroika in the USSR and renewal in the other socialist countries have been accompanied by a critical interpretation of what was accomplished in earlier phases and a smashing of everything that prevents the builders of the new society from making progress. An active search for ways to develop socialism based on its authentic values is under way. Of course, as the conditions obtaining in various countries vary, this search is being conducted in different ways, in the light of each country's specific conditions.

Such a course of events quite often nonpluses those who imagined that the process of socialist creation would take place without any difficulties, conflicts, or contradictions. As for the enemies of socialism, this "major overhaul" is regarded as the realization of the cherished dream of the collapse of the new social structure. Hence too the fictions concerning the future of socialism which are thrown up by the Western press. Efforts are made to convince readers that something like the burial of the ideas of communism is just about to happen.

"In the approaching century communism will seemingly be regarded by lexicographers almost in the way we today regard alchemy," *NEWSWEEK* states. As we can see, the American weekly does nevertheless still give communism a little time. But there are also impatient gentlemen in the West who forecast a far more rapid demise to our system and ideology. Britain's *SUNDAY TIMES*, for example, states that "Communism—the ideology which began this century as the wave of the future—will no longer be amongst us in any recognizable form by the start of the next century."

There is, of course, nothing new in such assertions. Socialism has been "buried" almost daily since 1917. Yet it continues its ongoing progress, despite all adversities. Does this mean that socialism has no problems today? No, it does not. On the contrary, we ourselves, on our own initiative, have torn down the curtain of sham prosperity and told the frank truth about our misfortunes and outstanding problems.

Socialism's adversaries go into hysterics precisely because they realize that restructuring and renewal afford the opportunity for socialism to dispose of deformations and get its second wind. That is why the forces intent on providing some scientific validation for the thesis that the "communist experiment" will inevitably fail are stepping up their activity.

Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security assistant to President Carter, for example, can be placed among such ideologues. I think it worthwhile to examine in somewhat greater detail the views of this Soviet specialist, particularly as he laid them out in detail once again the other day when delivering a paper entitled "The Crisis of Communism: Foreign Policy Consequences" to members of the Council on International Relations in Washington.

Brzezinski is not one of those anticommunists who is distinguished by scientific conscientiousness in his assessments. He has always carried out the social imperative of U.S. conservative circles and has always been guided in his analysis and conclusions by the categories of confrontation and war.

Of course, Brzezinski most of all wants the creative plans of the CPSU and Soviet state to fail. He acknowledges with a sigh that the political reform in the USSR is highly realistic, has far-reaching consequences, and is based on the purposeful efforts of the Soviet leadership and M.S. Gorbachev personally. But Brzezinski is loath to relinquish his dream and assiduously seeks arguments capable of convincing people of Soviet perestroika's inevitable failure.

He claims that a "paradoxical, desperate situation" is shaping up for the USSR, as decentralization, which is essential for a real enhancement of the economy's efficiency, leads to a growth in nationalism and creates the prerequisites for the USSR's dismemberment. The nationalities question, according to Brzezinski, is perestroika's Achilles' heel.

The Georgetown University professor's revelations show where socialism's adversaries are putting special emphasis today. They sense that the radical economic reform being carried out in our country and the process of democratization opens up broad scope for optimally combining the interests of both national-state formations and the union as a whole. And the enemies of the Soviet multinational state would like to direct all their efforts here.

Mr Brzezinski does not like our perestroika either because it opens up increasing opportunities for expanding international, including Soviet-American, cooperation, particularly economic cooperation. That is why he persistently counsels U.S. businessmen not to get carried away with signing contracts with Soviet organizations, assuring them that perestroika's prospects are "very unpredictable and uncertain" while adding, with sadness, that the West's opportunities for interfering in the internal economic processes in the USSR are limited.

Certain U.S. circles would very much like to sunder the community of socialist states. It is no accident that Brzezinski places in a special category those socialist countries in which "political institutions are changing shape and being reformed" and "the state sector of the economy is being gradually dismantled" at the same time. He puts Poland and Hungary in this category, adding, however, that the consequences of economic reform in those countries are still far from clear.

Space is also found in the Washington ideologue's schema for China, which he puts in the category of countries where economic reform has outstripped political reform. Hence the anticommunist's hope that such a situation might lead to the emergence of new centers of tension and conflict in the PRC. But in the meanwhile he counsels the administration to "keep the windows open" to the PRC "out of global strategy considerations."

It would perhaps not be worth dwelling in detail on Brzezinski's views if it were not for one thing, the fact that the views reflect the mindset of political and academic circles of rightwing conservative persuasion, which exert quite a lot of influence in the United States and have a definite impact on the Washington administration.

Yes, you cannot get away from the fact that there are political circles in the United States and other Western countries which continue to regard the peoples and states which have made the historic choice in favor of socialism from a purely belligerent anticommunist standpoint. They cherish the hope that the "postcommunist period" is approaching, failing to appreciate that what is now happening in the world of socialism, far from betokening the collapse of communist ideology, signifies its development and affirmation.

Perestroika in the USSR, the renewal of socialism in fraternal countries, and the course of glasnost and further democratization espoused by communist and workers parties guarantee that socialism will be able to deal with the present tense situation in the socioeconomic sphere and scale new heights. After all, the more democracy there is, the more socialism there is.

China

PRC Official on Sino-Soviet Cooperation
*OW0708050089 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0200 GMT 5 Aug 89*

[Remarks by Tang Zhongwen, Chinese vice minister of the machine-building and electronics industry, during an interview with Moscow Radio reporter Glebov—date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is announcer introduction]

[Text] During his official visit to the Soviet Union as a member of a Chinese Government science and technology delegation, Comrade Tang Zhongwen talked with Soviet representatives about prospects for developing cooperation between the two countries, and exchanged experience in this regard. While visiting Moscow, Leningrad, [words indistinct], Khabarovsk, and [words indistinct], Tang Zhongwen became acquainted with the Soviet Union's actual situation and the progress of its reform program. With regard to the results achieved and impression gained on his visit to the Soviet Union, he said:

[Begin Tang recording] As a representative of the Ministry of Machine-Building and Electronics Industry, I have had the opportunity to join the Chinese science and technology delegation and come to Moscow to participate in the exhibition of science and technology and the month of science and technology activities in Moscow. During this period, we have visited some Soviet cities and met leaders at the central level and of various localities. I think these activities are helpful to enhancing mutual understanding and encouraging each other and promoting future economic and technological cooperation and trade relations between the two countries.

The most intensive impression I have gained when visiting various localities is that the Soviet Union adheres to its independent policy in developing its economy. Although it is developing external ties, it has done a lot of work in developing its own economy. In order for a big country to do this, I think it must have a big domestic market. First and foremost, a country must rely on its own efforts to develop the economy. Of course, we should develop international cooperation, through which we can further develop our own economy. However, if the domestic economy is not well developed, it is impossible to achieve success in developing international cooperation. The stronger the domestic economic strength, the greater the capability of developing international economy. I am deeply impressed by what the Soviet Union has done in this regard.

The second impression is that, after visiting various places, I feel the Soviet Union is doing a superb job in conducting patriotic education. In many localities there are tombs and monuments in memory of World War II. These are used to educate young people about patriotism and stir up their zeal to love their country and safeguard peace.

Another impression is that in educating young people, the Soviet Union induces them to respect labor as well as advanced and model workers. You can see honor rolls of advanced and model workers here and there in the Soviet Union. These honor rolls are put up not only within various units, but also on streets. The purpose is to call on people to emulate the examples of these advanced and model individuals. This has also left me with a deep impression.

During our visit, we have met some leaders of Soviet industrial departments. We have found many new things in scientific research departments and enterprises in the Soviet Union. They have many achievements worth our learning. We know, of course, that we also have some achievements that can be exchanged with the Soviet Union. Through our talks with leaders of the enterprises concerned, we have seen that there are great possibilities and wide areas for our cooperation in electric power equipment, electronics products—especially electronics products for household use—and light industry. Both sides expressed willingness to conduct cooperation in these fields.

Because of our relatively short stay here, of course, we could not hold talks in great depth in all these fields. However, the meetings, contacts, and mutual understanding between the two sides have laid a foundation and established links for further development and cooperation in the future. We hope that after this visit and the establishment of contacts, our cooperation in the fields of science and technology, economics, and trade will develop further in the days to come. Thank you. [end recording]

PRC Delegation Leaves Moscow for Home
*OW0308142389 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 1 Aug 89*

[Text] A delegation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the China-USSR Friendship Association left Moscow by plane for Beijing on 30 July after winding up its visit in the Soviet Union.

During its 2-week visit in the Soviet Union, the delegation visited Vilnius, capital of the Baltic republic of Lithuania, as well as Georgia, and Ukraine, in addition to Moscow. It visited industrial enterprises, Kolkhoz, Sovkhoz, schools, and cultural institutions, acquainting itself with the progress of reform in the Soviet Union.

The International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet met with the Chinese guests on 31 [as heard] July. On the same day, the committee gave a breakfast party in honor of the Chinese guests in the name of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the USSR-China Friendship Society.

PRC Paper Cited on 'Bourgeois Liberalization'
PM0808100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "RENMIN RIBAO Commentary"]

[Text] Beijing, 5 Aug—The June events in Beijing have shown that under the onslaught of "bourgeois liberalization" not everyone is capable of displaying the necessary firmness of spirit and resolutely following revolutionary ideals and adopting firm revolutionary stances. That is the opinion of RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the CPC Central Committee.

During the counterrevolutionary rebellion the army and broad strata of cadres workers, workers, and representatives of the peasantry resolutely opposed the rebels, made a big contribution to the normalization of the situation in the country, and withstood this serious ordeal. But some people were unable to display sufficient firmness and "suffered defeat on encountering the offensive of bourgeois liberalization."

Analyzing the sources of the situation which has taken shape, the newspaper writes that objective external reasons undoubtedly existed, in particular differences within the leadership of the party and country, but "the underlying roots must be sought in the subjective sphere..." It is essential to pay the closest attention to the assertion of revolutionary ideals and the consolidation of revolutionary positions, the CPC Central Committee organ emphasizes.

Role of Non-Communist Parties in PRC Noted
PM0808081789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Denisov reply to reader's letter under the general heading "Dialogue": "How Many Parties Are There in China?"—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "I have read that there are eight democratic parties in the PRC apart from the Communist Party. Could you say how the multiparty system in China operates." Rustam Shir-Ogly. Batumi City.

Indeed, in modern China there are another eight so-called democratic parties within the framework of the system of multiparty cooperation under CPC leadership. Together with various social organizations they form

part of the broad patriotic united front headed by the CPC and actively cooperate with the Communist Party in the cause of socialist building.

All the Chinese democratic parties were set up before the formation of the PRC (1949), mainly in the mid-forties. They attracted activists from various social movements, scientific and cultural figures, and patriotically minded people from among the national bourgeoisie. Today these parties mainly unite representatives of the intelligentsia. Their members include many eminent scientists, artists, social figures, and members of the prosperous strata of society in old China. Many of them have extensive foreign contacts, particularly among Chinese emigre circles. They play a notable role in the PRC's international contacts, in people's diplomacy, and in implementing an open policy in foreign ties geared to attracting foreign investment to the country.

The largest of these parties—the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee (uniting people linked with the Kuomintang Party that ruled old China), and the Jiu San Society (named for the victory over Japanese militarism)—have between 15-20,000 and 35-40,000 members. Total membership of these parties is around 200,000. As a comparison: The CPC currently has 48 million members.

In the turbulent sixties and seventies the activity of the democratic parties was essentially paralyzed. In the eighties they resumed their activities and, after a long interval, held congresses, renewed their elected organs centrally and locally, and took measures to bring new blood into their ranks and attract new members. But even today they are dominated by middle-aged and elderly people.

Official CPC documents note that the CPC opposes copying the West's multiparty system of alternating rule, but intends to continue to develop the practice of cooperation and consultation with the various parties under CPC leadership, seeing this as a feature and advantage of the country's political system. In implementing this cooperation, the CPC is following the course of "prolonged coexistence, reciprocal control, sincere exchanges of opinion, and mutual experience of joys and adversity."

Whereas the CPC's cooperation with the democratic parties used to be largely formal, in recent years it has been galvanized and has become an active and effective political process.

Agreement for Rail Link Signed With PRC
OW0308202289 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] The Soviet Union and China have signed an agreement to construct a rail line linking their railroads at (Jiuyi) City and the border region at Alataw Shankou [Dzungarian Gate].

A 210-kilometer long railroad will be built on the Chinese side and the Soviet side will modernize their railroads for their part. This will not only link up the border regions of the two nations but also reduce by at least 10 percent the rail distance between Moscow and Beijing.

The plan will be realized by 1 October next year.

Chinese Workers Build Vladivostok Apartments

OW0608072989 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 0830 GMT 26 Jul 89

[O. Padenko video report from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The foundation stone for the first multiapartment residential building for fishermen was ceremonially laid in Vladivostok by Chinese construction workers. [Video cuts to show a Chinese official holding a brick with engraved brass plates on it at the construction site]

[Padenko] The fish processing workers will receive a 9-story apartment building with 60 comfortable apartments and a shop on the ground floor as early as next year in a turn-key deal. This will be possible primarily because the Bao Hai Company, which concluded a contract with the Dalmoreprodukt [Far East Ocean Products Association] fishing flotilla administration, to avoid dependence on the kray's unwieldy construction industry, has completely rebuilt its own technologies to conform with our GOSTs [All-Union State Standards] and SNIPs [Construction Rules and Regulations]. After reequipping its enterprises it is producing its own bricks and various other materials and structures and purchasing trucks, cranes, and small machinery and shipping all this to Vladivostok by sea.

An entire construction group including 150 assembly workers, stone masons, metal workers, carpenters, electricians, and machinery operators have begun work at the site of the new building in shifts, around the clock. [Video shows Chinese construction crew working with Chinese lorries and earthmoving equipment, then cuts to show Padenko interviewing Yu.G. Didenko, general director of Dalmoreprodukt]

[Begin Didenko recording] We plan to build 8,000 apartments by the year 2000, to replace eventually with permanent personnel everyone who comes here simply to earn some money and then travel back across the Ural Mountains. They will be able to arrive and receive an apartment for their families and children, like it should be at any normal enterprise.

It is impossible to do this with the manpower of our Maritime Kray builders, for instance, even by cost accounting methods, because we do not have sufficient construction materials for the industry. It is the same with cost accounting and the kray in general. Everyone

understands this except the party kraykom [kray committee] and krayispolkom [kray soviet executive committee] who by their actions allocate no more than 5 percent of the available potential capacities of kray builders for the housing needs of all Maritime Kray fishermen. So, what is there left to do? Because of this attitude we had to find the solution ourselves. We found the solution. [end recording]

This solution will permit Dalmoreprodukt fishermen, with the aid of Chinese builders and with funds set aside from the profits of their lease crews, also to build a children's combine, a pioneer camp, a recreation facility for ship's crews, and the country's first Captain's House, as you have heard, with 560 apartments. It will be a high-rise with terraces and a commercial and cultural center, a club, library, and sports and consumer complexes. By solving the existing problem with housing in this way they will be able to retain skilled personnel, who are so badly needed by the fleet here in the Far East.

Comparison of Shevardnadze, Qian Qichen Meeting PM0308154189

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 1 August 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on a meeting between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen 31 July in Paris. Comparison of the PRAVDA item with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian item entitled "Shevardnadze, Qian Qichen Discuss Cambodia," published on page 24 of the 31 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, reveals the following variations:

page 24, column two, first paragraph of item, only sentence should read: Paris, 31 July—Eduard Shevardnadze, member... (subbing "31 July" for "30 July");

page 25, column one, first paragraph, first sentence should read: ...two exchanged opinions in principle on the progress of the Cambodian settlement process in light of... (supplying alternative wording);

same page, same column, same paragraph, sentence two should read: ...conference is creating real preconditions for finding the... (supplying alternative wording).

Northeast Asia

Japan's Kaifu Favors Dialogue With USSR

LD0708064589 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Tokyo August 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Agarkov:

Deputy of the Japanese parliament and activist of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party of Japan Toshiki Kaifu has favoured the development of the dialogue with the Soviet Union.

In an interview to the Japanese newspaper MAINICHI, published today, the political leader, who is an official candidate for the post of chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, said "Prime Minister Sosuke Uno opened the road for better relations with the USSR. He exerted huge efforts to improve relations with the Soviet Union also when he was foreign minister. It is important, I believe, to follow the path projected by my predecessors".

Touching upon relations with the United States, Kaifu said that "the Japanese diplomacy is based on the relations with the United States" and favoured a positive approach "in deepening the dialogue with the United States, while removing misunderstanding if it arises".

Elections of a new chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party are to be held on August 8 (following Sosuke Uno's resignation). Since Liberal Democrats have a majority in the parliament's "key" chamber, the post of chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party opens a direct way to premiership. Former ministers Shintaro Ishihara and Yoshiro Hayashi are also running as candidates for the top post in the liberal democratic party but, according to experts, 58-year old Kaifu is most favoured to win. He has support in the party ranks both in the centre and locally.

Necessity of WWII A-Bombings Questioned

OW0608130089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Commentary by station commentator Dmitriyev]

[Text] U.S. soldiers in 1945 did not anticipate that the atomic bomb that had been dropped on Hiroshima would turn the city into a symbol of struggle against nuclear weapons in the world. The slogan of "do not repeat the tragedy of Hiroshima" has been chanted frequently by antinuclear movements in all nations, including the United States. At first, people who organized, participated in, and joined the movement did so for emotional reasons. As fear of the atomic bomb spread in the world, however, they could not remain indifferent. The antinuclear movement thus evolved and now has a clear theoretical basis. This trend is becoming more conspicuous than ever at present. As the stock of nuclear weapons increases, it is becoming clearer that instead of ensuring security, such weapons only serve to threaten civilization with destruction.

This development has led to the emergence of criticism against the theory of nuclear deterrence. This theory was criticized severely at the World Conference on Banning Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, which has convened in Hiroshima under the sponsorship of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. Mr Kuro Ansai, a scholar who is attending the conference, likened the theory of nuclear deterrence to a medicine that hampers the cure of patients' diseases. He asserted that the only way to eliminate the threat they pose is to abolish these weapons completely. Mr O'Brien from New Zealand

termed the theory of nuclear deterrence [word indistinct], Mr (Albeobichi), an American researcher, said, in his recent article, that the atomic bombing of Japanese cities was dreadful and meaningless, and militarily unnecessary. Soviet participation in the war, and not the U.S. atomic bombings, played the decisive role in ending the war with Japan. U.S. leaders knew that it was unnecessary to drop the atomic bombs.

Mr (Albeobichi) added that the United States tested nuclear weapons against tens of thousands of citizens in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Although the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were foolish acts, the sacrifices of the bomb attack were not meaningless. The victims of these attacks clearly explained to new generations the truth about nuclear weapons. These are the ultimate weapons that grew out of the idea of maintaining military strength. The idea that nuclear weapons are meaningless is evolving slowly into the idea that maintaining military strength is meaningless.

With the present nuclear arsenal, safety cannot be assured irrespective of the technology applied. It is for this reason that we must seek political solutions. And the way to political resolutions is slowly opening up.

Nuclear Threat Examined on Hiroshima Anniversary

OW0608104689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Commentary by Moscow Radio Political Commentator Glazunov—recorded in Russian fading into Japanese translation]

[Text] Although the Americans chose to call the atomic bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima the "Little Boy," it managed to reduce the beautiful city of Hiroshima into a pile of dead trees and to take the lives of over 140,000 people. This atomic bomb attack has raised the question about mankind's very existence for the first time in the thousands of years of human history. Dr Einstein, who was one of the first to comprehend the dreadful terror that had occurred in Hiroshima, said that mankind and nuclear weapons cannot coexist. The potential power of the nuclear weapons accumulated in the world at present is said to be 1 million times that of the "Little Boy" dropped on Hiroshima.

The legacy of past thinking, which had regarded the power and quantity of nuclear weapons as an assurance of national security, has led the world into an abyss of nuclear destruction. Realizing the destructive potential of nuclear weapons, mankind has taken the first step to eliminate the nuclear threat. The Soviet Union and the United States have been scrapping two classes of nuclear missiles and are negotiating on future steps. However, many people in the world have not yet learned the lesson of Hiroshima—nuclear weapons and mankind cannot coexist. Many people continue to hold the view that nuclear weapons can ensure peace and are not a threat to peace and mankind's existence.

Such a view of nuclear deterrence is the basis of NATO strategy. Although that organization has agreed to reduce its arsenal of nuclear weapons, it opposes the total abolishment of this class of weapons. A reduction in the number of such weapons could lessen the level of danger. But the question follows: What level is appropriate? Is there any view on this question? At present, a nuclear-powered submarine is known to have more destructive power by several times than all of that used in World War II. It also is necessary to think about radiation, the effects of which cause the dreadful nuclear winter. It is known that a nuclear-powered submarine can turn the earth into a place unsuitable for the existence of mankind. Dr Einstein's view, that mankind and nuclear weapons cannot coexist, has turned out to be correct. The tragedy of Hiroshima has become a dreadful warning.

A journalist has asserted that disarmament negotiations on all kinds of nuclear weapons should be held in Hiroshima. I agree with him. Every corner of Hiroshima is issuing clear warnings. If nuclear weapons do not disappear from the earth, then what took place in Hiroshima 44 years ago also can occur in any place on the earth today.

DPRK Parliamentarians Visit Alma-Ata
PM0708113389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "DPRK Delegation in Alma-Ata"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 29 Jul—The DPRK parliamentary delegation headed by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly, which is in our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, visited the capital of Kazakhstan.

The delegation members were received by M.R. Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Comparison of Shevardnadze, Mitsuzuka Meeting
PM0308153389

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 1 August 1989 published in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on a meeting between USSR Foreign Minister and Japanese Foreign Minister H. Mitsuzuka 31 July in Paris. Comparison of the PRAVDA item with the translation of the TASS item entitled "Shevardnadze, Japan's Mitsuzuka Meet in Paris," published in the 31 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, reveals the following variations:

page 25, column one, first paragraph of item, only sentence should read ...Paris, July 31—Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze met with his Japanese counterpart Hiroshi Mitsuzuka.

The ministers expressed... (subbing "July 31" for "July 30" and deleting words);

same page, same column, third paragraph, only sentence should read ...not been exhausted by any means and that these... (adding words);

same page, column two, first paragraph, only sentence should read ...cooperation.

The ministers examined the situation in the Asia-Pacific region in a broad context. Shevardnadze stressed the favorable effect... (adding words)

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Hun Sen Agreement on Election in Cambodia Noted
BK0708145889 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1100 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the State of Cambodia's Council of Ministers, agreed that general election in Cambodia will take place 3 months after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

In an interview in Paris with the Italian paper REPUBBLICA, the comrade once again stressed that Vietnamese troops will be out of Cambodia by 27 September. Comrade Hun Sen said he does not oppose a coalition government but this government should be set up after the election and based on the result of the election.

Ovchinnikov Views Cambodia Conference Hopes
PM0708115489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 89 Second Edition p 7

[PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov article: "The Key to Peace in Cambodia"]

[Excerpts] The Paris conference on Cambodia began its day-to-day work in the first days of August, and will continue until the end of the month. After a general discussion with the participation of foreign ministers, the work moved to the commissions. There, documents are to be agreed upon for approval in the final stage of the conference with the ministers' participation. [passage omitted]

The Paris conference has convened at a moment when the settlement process has entered its decisive stage, with a radically new situation facing us in Southeast Asia. First, in less than 2 months the Vietnamese troops will be fully withdrawn from Cambodia. Second, considerable groundwork has been done as a result of the informal meetings in Jakarta and the dialogue between Hun Sen and Sihanouk.

As the discussion involving ministers showed, in terms of the external aspects of the conflict the positions of the conference participants have drawn closer together and are capable of being brought to agreement. This concerns questions of how to prevent civil war and stop the Pol Pot supporters from seizing power after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. It also concerns the formulation of

practical measures aimed at stopping military aid from outside to all the opposing Cambodian factions. It is also obvious that given its authoritative composition, the Paris forum is capable of guaranteeing Cambodia's status as an independent, neutral, nonaligned state and creating an effective international mechanism for verifying the withdrawal of foreign troops and for monitoring elections.

What is the nature of the disagreements on this aspect of the problem? The opposition demands the elimination, even before the elections, of the existing power structure in Cambodia, and the creation of a quadripartite coalition government. Its aim is to consolidate its political positions in the country, especially in the cities, irrespective of the results of the vote. Phnom Penh, however, proposes to preserve the existing government while setting up a supreme leadership council, which would be concerned with formulating the electoral law and holding the elections.

In this connection the Cambodian delegation shows willingness to compromise. A proposal from Perez de Cuellar immediately to send a fact-finding mission of UN observers to the country was adopted. Phnom Penh expressed readiness to restrict the functions of the existing government to day-to-day socioeconomic problems and the preservation of law and order, so that all questions relating to the elections are decided by the supreme leadership council.

Finally, in addition to the three working commissions (on international verification, guarantees of Cambodia's neutrality, and economic restoration and the refugee problem), agreement has been reached on forming a commission on internal aspects for a settlement. Apart from representatives of the four Cambodian factions, it has been decided to include on the commission the cochairmen of this forum—France and Indonesia.

The position of the "Khmers Rouges" is at odds with all this. As Britain's FINANCIAL TIMES newspaper notes, it is now "the most substantial obstacle on the path to a settlement."

It is not hard to see that if the participants in the Paris conference agree first and foremost on questions whose resolution is now urgent: how to prevent civil war, stop foreign aid, guarantee Cambodia's neutrality, and ensure international verification—this will leave the opponents of national reconciliation isolated and force them to submit to the Cambodian people's will. In other words, success in the work of the first three commissions will facilitate the quest for agreement in the fourth. And then the foreign ministers of the interested states will be able to meet in Paris again at the end of August to record the agreements reached.

Report on Paris Cambodia Conference

PM0808110989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondents M. Ilinskiy and Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "In Search of a Settlement. At the Conference on Cambodia. USSR Foreign Minister Answers IZVESTIYA Correspondents' Question]

[Excerpts] Paris—Despite the sometimes heated arguments, recriminations, and reproaches, the outlines of a future settlement in Cambodia—the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the country by the end of September, the creation of an international verification mechanism, the setting up of an interim transitional government with the participation of all four parties to the conflict, and preparations for general elections—are gradually starting to take shape at the Paris conference. The fact that "Moscow and Washington intend to resolve this problem" is of considerable importance and, as the newspaper LE MONDE notes, is influencing their allies. At the same time, the meeting participants realize that many obstacles still have to be overcome on the road to a settlement.

The speech by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen on the second day of the conference was awaited with great interest. "The complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and the setting up of a four-sided coalition government chaired by Prince Norodom Sihanouk are two interlinked aspects of the resolution of the Cambodian problem," the minister stated. "Our conference should set up a special commission to tackle the questions of guaranteeing peace in Cambodia, preventing civil war, and achieving national reconciliation. After a general agreement is concluded on the Cambodian problem and all Vietnamese troops are withdrawn, China, along with the other interested countries, will undertake to end its military aid to the various Cambodian sides."

The speech by Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach was constructive. The Cambodian sides and interested states, he said, have reached agreement on Cambodia's status as an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned state. At the same time, the minister noted, the creation of setting up a transitional government can only be resolved by the Cambodians themselves. The SRV, like the international community, is prepared to recognize and guarantee Cambodia's permanent neutrality and supports the idea of setting up a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in Southeast Asia. All the factors for a global political settlement both internationally and domestically are now in place, Nguyen Co Thach believes. The main thing now is for the Cambodians to reach agreement on domestic issues. [passage omitted]

Several specific proposals have already been made at the Paris meeting. Three Indochinese countries—the SRV, Laos, and Cambodia—have submitted a draft agreement and protocol on settling the Cambodian problem to the forum participants. Japan has put forward an initiative to set up an international committee on Cambodian

reconstruction as a component of an overall settlement. Most of the delegations stated their views on the future functioning of an international verification mechanism.

A 2-day discussion during which there were speeches by 18 countries' foreign policy departments has ended at the conference. The work will now be continued in commissions. The first of these—the commission on the international verification mechanism—will define this organ's mandate, its composition, and its main functions: to observe the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, to monitor the situation in the country, the ending of foreign military aid and hostilities, and the holding of free elections.

The second commission—the "guarantees commission"—will work out a status guaranteeing Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, and neutrality and preventing the restoration of the genocidal regime. Finally, the third commission will study the issues of the country's reconstruction and the provision of aid to refugees.

It is too soon to make any forecasts about the results of the Paris conference. One thing is undoubted: It will help to remove this dangerous regional conflict and will be an important stage in the very difficult process of a political settlement in Cambodia.

Charges Against Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi Noted
BK0808083289 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1430 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Military authorities in Myanmar [Burma] have accused Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the opposition National League for Democracy, of collaborating with organizations declared unlawful in the country.

A military spokesman told newsmen in Yangon [Rangoon] that there was evidence at hand that shows Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was a member of a secretly-formed interim government that was to hold multiparty elections in the country. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been placed under house arrest since 20 July under the Law Protecting the State from Destructionists.

There have been widespread reports in Myanmar that, as a gesture of opposing the slanderous charges being levied against leading opposition organizations, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has gone on a hunger strike.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Afghan Visit
PM0808091989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Aug 89 p 4 Second Edition

[Interview by unidentified BAKHTAR agency correspondent with Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: This is not your first visit to Afghanistan. Permit me to begin the interview with a question which is traditional in our conversation—on the aim of your present visit to our country.

Answer: Let's be precise: This visit to Afghanistan is the seventh to date. Each visit has its own "subject" and its own concrete tasks. I think that all of them, reflecting the peculiarities of the current moment and the specifics of the situation's development, have one way or another achieved their aims. One ought also to note that there have been a great deal more visits and conversations which are determined by the range of problems with regards to an Afghan settlement—not to mention visits to Islamabad and Tehran. In our practice there is not one day of talks during which we would not conduct a conversation with our partners on Afghanistan.

These diplomatic statistics define first and foremost the priority significance of a positive solution to the Afghan problem and the foremost attention that is paid to it by the Soviet leadership headed by M.S. Gorbachev; as well as the intensity and fullness of its contacts with President Najibullah. And on this occasion too I have brought him a personal message from the general secretary.

There is another circumstance—and I will not be afraid to reveal its personal nature—which particularly brings myself and my colleagues to Kabul. When you visit a country so frequently, when you come into such close contact with its misfortunes and concerns, its fate and the life and future of its people become near to you. This is not simply the fulfillment of official and professional duty, this is a feeling of personal responsibility before leaders and the people of the country. And therefore, however circumstances take shape, we always make haste to see you.

Now about the visit's aims. This is my first visit to Afghanistan following the withdrawal of Soviet troops. With that we did not consider our task fulfilled. As a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, The Soviet Union is continuing to act in favor of a final political settlement of the Afghan problem. In the last months and days—I have in mind the recent meetings in Paris and Tehran—we have had a whole series of contacts with foreign ministers and state figures of many countries, the UN general secretary, and Afghan affairs were not on the periphery of the talks. I wish to state firmly that during the course of the talks all of our partners spoke out for a settlement of the conflict by political means and for the achievement of peace in Afghanistan.

Here I would single out the very positive position of Iran, with which we have just had constructive talks. As we were again able to be convinced, Iran favors broad internal Afghan dialogue, the aim of which is the creation of a representative government that reflects Afghanistan's entire political spectrum.

One would also like to note the UN secretary general's recent statement on Afghanistan, which reflects a striving to augment the effectiveness of the organization's involvement in establishing peace in your country.

After the Soviet troops' withdrawal, the situation in Afghanistan underwent a sharp evolution. On the one hand, foreign interference evolved, in essence, into aggression and intervention, which extended strikes against the civilian population. From 15 February to the present day hundreds of completely innocent civilians have died from missile bombardments of Kabul and other cities. Actively supplied with arms by the United States and Saudi Arabia, the opposition's extremist wing, supported by Pakistan, includes within its combat formations troop units of the latter. So far as the United States is concerned however, if matters continue in this way, then from being a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, this country may turn into a party to the conflict.

I repeat, this is on the one hand. On the other, the opposition forces do not present themselves as a homogeneous mass. There is the irreconcilable opposition—and Jalalabad showed what language should be spoken to it. But there are also other forces, who are not indifferent to dialogue, and are ready to learn the language of national reconciliation, and Afghanistan, just as the Soviet Union for that matter, is ready to conduct and is conducting talks with them.

In a word, an absolutely new, ambiguous situation predetermined the need for the present meeting with President Najibullah. We arrived in order to brief him about our work in the Afghan sphere and to hear the President's view about today's state of affairs, and to draw up, as always, a joint program of action.

We left an Afghanistan of one kind, if one may put it like that, and at the moment there is a fundamentally different situation. This requires corrective measures, and we have discussed these.

Naturally, I expressed to President Najibullah the admiration of Soviet people for the courage and high combat training of the armed forces of the republic, which proved in battles the truthfulness of one simple truth: When a people defends a just cause, it is invincible.

Question: You have preempted the next question: For almost 6 months now, the Afghan armed forces have been independently defending the republic. How do you evaluate this?

Answer: It would be no exaggeration to say that the last year and a half have probably been the most dramatic in the last decade for the republic and for the whole Afghan people. If one attempts to give a graphic picture of how events developed during those years, then the crowning period would have to be March-July 1989. But such a timescale could not reflect the tragic side of the Afghan people's struggle or the courage and steadfastness of the defenders of Jalalabad, Qandahar, Khows, and Kabul. We know how much strength and will was required of the armed forces and all Afghan patriots in order to uphold Afghanistan's sovereignty and freedom and to bury the extremists' calculations for a swift and generally

military solution to the question of the country's future. The ruling republican system has convincingly proved to the whole world its capability and its military-political and, I would say, spiritual-moral superiority over its opponents.

As far as my impressions of what I have seen in Kabul are concerned, then given the brevity of our stay in the Afghan capital and fragmentary acquaintance with its present way of life, we sensed a high-charged political atmosphere which was full of pain and fear, but at the same time, it had pride and confidence and determination to stand one's ground and win. What was also immediately evident was how much wiser and more well-considered the activity of the country's leadership has become, how much its prestige and the degree of organization of the state apparatus have grown, how much the armed forces have matured, and how much stronger is the cohesion of the patriotic forces. As far as I can judge, recognition of the need for national consolidation is paramount in the Afghan society's mood.

Question: There has been a lot of discussion in the West about the reasons for the Afghan opposition's military failures. What's your view of these reasons?

Answer: I think that this would be the time to talk not only of military failings, but also of the opposition's political defeat. One could speak in equal measure about the correct nature of the policy chosen by President Najibullah toward national reconciliation and a political solution to the problem. The Soviet troops' withdrawal was predetermined by his resolute actions in precisely this direction. Today one may say quite categorically that the Geneva agreements would not have happened without the choosing of a policy in favor of national reconciliation.

The results of the spring-summer campaign have convincingly endorsed the just nature of the impossibility of a military solution to the Afghan problem. The successful counteraction to the armed onslaught is, we realize, a reflection of the positive processes of the consolidation of the patriotic forces of Afghan society. And today, when Pakistani interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs is becoming more evident and overt, national and patriotic feelings are being directed against both those who are encouraging the aggression and those who are its tool.

Moreover, the Afghans' deepening awareness of the lack of an alternative to national reconciliation and their weariness of war and destruction are leading them toward supporting the country's leaders in their efforts for a peaceful political settlement. Along with this, a justified apprehension about extremists coming to power is mounting among many strata of the Afghan population, including among those who have no particular sympathy with the current regime. Let us put it like this: The concept of national reconciliation and the withdrawal of Soviet

troops from Afghanistan cut the ground from under the irreconcilable opposition, which has effectively degenerated into an antinational, anti-Afghan force.

It is time for it to be understood that the opposition has no future, that continuing fratricidal bloodshed is catastrophic for it in all respects.

The road to peace in Afghanistan does not coincide with the path of war. It should be sought at the negotiating table, with the involvement of all healthy forces in the country without exception.

Question: As is known, the U.S. Administration had decided to increase deliveries of the most up-to-date weapons to antigovernment groupings. Can Afghanistan count on commensurate USSR support?

Answer: Our stance on the issue of weapon supplies to the warring sides in Afghanistan remains unchanged. The USSR has repeatedly proposed that such supplies by all countries to the warring factions be halted—in conjunction with a cease-fire. This coincides with the viewpoint of the Republic of Afghanistan's leaders, which has put forward the initiative concerning the country's demilitarization.

Alas, the response to this remains unchanged: an increasing "transfusion" of military hardware into the opposition's increasingly decrepit arteries. There is material encouragement of aggression and intervention.

Can the USSR stand aloof from this? Certainly not.

The USSR will provide Afghanistan with military aid, including modern weapons, respecting its obligations under bilateral agreements. In other words—on a legitimate basis.

This aid does not run counter to the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, while both the supply of weapons to the Afghan opposition via Pakistan and by Pakistan itself directly violate these agreements. However, as I have already said, being a firm supporter of a peaceful settlement of the Afghan conflict, the USSR is prepared at any time to cease all military supplies to Afghanistan on a reciprocal basis.

Question: What would you describe as the main reasons impeding the quickest possible attainment of an Afghan settlement?

Answer: In my view, there are two groups of reasons here—external and domestic. The main reason among the external ones, which ultimately predetermine the majority of the domestic reasons to a considerable extent, is the Pakistan military's disruption of implementation of the Geneva agreements, the escalation of Islamabad's interference in Afghan affairs. The contiguous territory of a neighboring country is not simply a rear base of antigovernment forces, a source of replenishment

for their weapons and personnel. Pakistan military subunits have now been turned into a rearguard for the opposition detachments fighting on Afghan soil.

The increased anti-Afghan thrust of the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia, which has taken on the role of sponsor to further escalate the war in Afghanistan, gives rise to natural concern. No longer confined to generous financing for the opposition, this has gone as far as the recruitment and deployment in Afghanistan of mercenaries from other countries who sow death and destruction.

It is dispiriting that the above-mentioned countries, which are UN members, are flouting the well-known resolution of the 43d General Assembly session which they were involved in adopting.

And yet, given all this, the external environment has today been radically transformed.

The country's foreign policy prestige has increased significantly. Many countries in the framework of the Nonaligned Movement, including great India, morally and politically support the idea of national reconciliation. Fairly strong impulses exist toward the holding of an international forum on Afghanistan.

I imagine that the Islamic Conference Organization must also draw new conclusions as a result of the new situation. As for Pakistan, we are continuing our dialogue with it, hoping that this country will also switch its focus to a political means of solving the problem.

As far as Iran is concerned, as I have already said, in evaluating its policy toward Afghanistan one should not equate it with other countries engaged in interfering in Afghanistan. Here we see encouraging trends, indicating growing realism and constructiveness in Tehran's Afghan policy. We welcome such changes for the better for, in contributing to untying the Afghan knot, they can objectively contribute to a normalization and improvement in the situation throughout the whole region.

While firmly supporting the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan, we are ready to continue direct contacts with all Afghan opposition forces and to act as intermediary in arranging an inter-Afghan dialogue.

The final aim—and it should unite everyone—is a non-aligned, neutral Afghanistan, not hostile to anyone.

Question: Can the United Nations Organization help more effectively in the process of political settlement in Afghanistan?

Answer: Without a doubt. I have already mentioned the recent statement by Mr Perez de Cuellar. I am convinced that the UN not only can, but also should, play an important role in an Afghan settlement. This is envisaged by the Geneva agreements and the corresponding

resolution of the 43 United Nations General Assembly session. The General Assembly gave the UN secretary general a mandate for his personal involvement and to assist this process.

We highly value the UN's service in the preparation and conclusion of the Geneva accords. However, at the present stage a more active role of this most authoritative organization in Afghan affairs is no less important.

Some have sought to reduce the role of the UN's monitoring mechanism to the observation of Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan. Yet from the very outset, its prevention of foreign aggression against Afghanistan was envisaged. To this end it is now necessary to strengthen the UN's monitoring mechanism in the appropriate manner.

We are convinced that the organization, and above all its secretary general, are capable of actively helping to establish inter-Afghan dialogue. There is no shortage of ideas on this score. Here it would be possible to mention our proposal, made jointly with President Najibullah, on the convening of an international conference on Afghanistan, and also a regional conference with the involvement of Afghanistan's neighboring countries. I will also remind you about the setting up of the standing international group of experts, and of the pressing need to increase the effectiveness of UNGOMAP [UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan] activity. In our view the personal involvement of the UN Secretary General, or through his plenipotentiary representative, in preparing the ground for the start of inter-Afghan dialogue, and the creation of a mechanism for an Afghan political settlement would be productive in present day circumstances.

The role of the UN and its institutions is also important in the sphere of providing humanitarian aid to the population of Afghanistan, irrespective of where it lives—in regions under government control, or occupied by the opposition.

Question: Could you not make more precise your view about an international conference on Afghanistan?

Answer: Certainly. In our view, neighboring countries—Pakistan, Iran, China, India, and the Soviet Union could take part, and also the United States, as a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, representatives of the UN, and of course, representatives of the Afghan forces involved in the conflicts.

In principle, permanent Security Council members could also be included among the participants. We have an analogue before our very eyes, namely the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

At the same time, intermediate versions are also possible: a meeting of some countries, that is, a meeting with a narrow range of participants.

Question: Afghans empathize and understand the Soviet people's suffering, above all, mothers whose sons are languishing, imprisoned by the opposition. Was this problem discussed with the Afghan leadership and what are your views on the prospects for its rapid solution?

Answer: Yes, this is a cause of unrelenting pain for us. None of us can rest while our lads remain imprisoned. Their release is a top priority task for everyone, be it the government or the public. It is equally acute for the country's diplomatic service, and our efforts are inseparable from the actions of popular movements to save the POW's that have emerged in our country.

A delegation of one such popular committee entitled "Nadezhda" was recently in Pakistan and conducted talks with the "Mujahidin" and Pakistani authorities. As you know, after Pakistan the delegation visited Kabul and met and discussed with the Afghan leadership ways to bring about an urgent solution to this problem that is such a torment to all.

At the same time, a delegation of the Coordination Committee of the Soviet Public visited Kabul and also exchanged views with Afghan friends. Another Coordinating Committee delegation travelled to the United States, where it made appropriate efforts together with the International Committee for rescuing Soviet POW's.

The Soviet leadership and the USSR Foreign Ministry will use any opportunity capable of bringing nearer the hour of release of our "Afghans." The entire potential of official and personal contacts with foreign statesmen, politicians, and public figures and organizations has been set in motion; various channels of influence on the Afghan opposition have been activated, and interaction has been organized with the International Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations.

Of course, we discussed this question again with President Najibullah, who is also resolutely inclined in favor of taking immediate additional measures to save Soviet servicemen.

Question: There is an active debate in the Soviet Union over the question of whether the introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan was that necessary. What do you think on that score?

Answer: It is a very complex matter, which requires a deep and overall analysis. I would even say it also needs research and investigation. There are a multiplicity of factors which make hasty conclusions not only incorrect but also harmful.

Research and analysis is underway, and their conclusions will be disclosed.

But at present the mere fact that following the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan people's power has succeeded for 6 months now in successfully defending its positions and strengthening them gives cause for serious reflection.

Nobody in our country doubts that the Soviet Union's help was, and remains, vitally essential to Afghanistan. But like many other people, I ask myself the question: Could not the Afghan national democratic revolution have defended its gains, relying exclusively on its national armed forces, and the support of the Afghan people, naturally with our overall political, moral, and material support?

Afghanistan has proved to itself and to the whole world that it can do that perfectly well itself, and this says a lot. My wishes are only to continue to win. I wish the Afghan people a full and final victory, which we do not see as anything other than peace, happiness, and the rebirth of Afghanistan.

Further Reportage on Afghan Incidents, Comments

'Extremists' Shell Embassy in Kabul

LD0708181189 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul July 7 TASS—Extremists again heavily rocketed the Afghan capital today. One of the missiles fell in the Ariana market, and another one hit the Intercontinental Hotel, inflicting a heavy damage on it, the BAKHTAR news agency reports. As many as 38 ground-to-ground rockets were fired at the city. According to preliminary data, eight people were killed and 18 wounded.

Afghan Defense Minister Cites Calm

LD0708185589 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The Afghan defense minister has said that "the most difficult days for the Afghan Army are now behind". In an interview with the newspaper IZVESTIYA he admitted that the beginning of spring had been a critical time, with the enemy throwing large forces against Jalalabad. "There were moments when we thought that the fate of the city was hanging by a thread: Fierce close-quarters fighting was already in progress at the airfield. But our Army managed to repulse the attacks and thus to refute predictions that in a matter of weeks following the Soviet troops withdrawal the government would fall and the armed opposition would seize power".

The minister said that the city of Khowst in the east of the country, was now the "hottest spot". "In early July fierce fighting raged around Khowst. A large opposition group numbering between 10 and 12 thousand men is operating here. They have been pressing our troops really hard, and the command was forced to urgently move the

reserves to the threatened area and to deal missile and bomb strikes to the attacking enemy", he said. At present, in his words, the rebel attacks against the city have petered out, and though the danger has not been removed completely, the situation on the whole has become stabilised.

As the minister pointed out, large forces have been amassed around Kabul, about 10 thousand opposition men. "Each week their leaders announce a new date for the storming of the city but when the deadline approaches, the offensive is invariably postponed". He attributes this to the fact that the opposition is perfectly aware of its inability to seize Kabul.

"The present situation around Jalalabad is much calmer than a few months before. Gradually, the city is returning to normalcy, classes have resumed in schools and at the university and Kabul-Jalalabad highway is functioning again. One gets the impression that the opposition has lost all hope of conquering the city: The enemy's activity has notably declined".

The Afghan foreign minister put the opposition's losses in the first three months after the Soviet troop withdrawal, at 25 thousand troops. Government losses are less by a large margin, he said. The overall numerical strength of the anti-government forces in the whole of Afghanistan is, according to him, around 200 thousand of whom there are 3,300 foreigners from Arab countries, mainly from Saudi Arabia, and 1,400 Pakistani militia. There are also advisers from the United States and other Western countries. At present five out of thirty one provincial centres are controlled by the opposition.

In conclusion the minister expressed his confidence that the successes of the government Army would eventually convince the opposition leaders in the futility of attempts at a military solution of the Afghan problem and they would agree to sit down and negotiate with the Afghan Government.

'Need' for International Conference

LD0708125489 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] On Sunday, the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, paid a short working visit to Kabul to discuss with local leaders the situation in and around Afghanistan following the Soviet troop withdrawal 6 months ago. Yuriy Solton elaborates.

Over the past few months [words indistinct] drastic change resulting from the local people's resolve to defend their country's freedom and sovereignty. The republic, guided by the People's Democratic Party, has been gaining strength and winning greater international prestige. Progress has been made also in the intra-Afghan dialogue, including that with opposition representatives and field commanders. Many countries worldwide, including nonaligned nations, have notably invigorated

their efforts to have the Afghan conflict settled politically. Constructive ideas to that effect have been coming from Iran, a country hosting nearly 1 million Afghan refugees and the leaders of the opposition Alliance of Eight. In a word, favorable opportunities have been taking shape for ending the bloody civil war in Afghanistan on a basis of sensible compromise and national reconciliation.

Kabul is suggesting a concrete and reasonable program of settlement. Under it a ceasefire is to be accompanied by an end to all weapons supplies to the warring groups, which is a measure the Soviet Union is ready to support. Also, Afghanistan should hold general elections and see the formation of a coalition government involving representatives of all opposition forces. Meanwhile, the country needs external guarantees of its status of a demilitarized and nonaligned nation, and this is an area of activity where the United Nations seems to have been unable to cope with its functions of monitoring compliance with the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

There are many indications Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia are seeking to escalate their interference in Afghan affairs, which threatens to seriously aggravate the situation not only in Afghanistan but also in the entire region. Hence the growing need to convene an international conference on Afghanistan, as had been suggested by Moscow and Kabul.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are ready to consider other similar proposals. As has been repeatedly emphasized during Kabul talks, the Afghan (?conflict could) be settled only by peaceful means. Moscow and Kabul reaffirm their determination to accelerate the search for peaceful solutions. The Soviet foreign minister said his country fully supported the political course chosen by the Afghan Government.

Kabul Rebel Underground Described

PM0708090189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 89 Second Edition p 7

[Dispatch by special correspondents A. Boldinyuk and A. Greshnov: "Purging 'Shefa'"]

[Text] Kabul, 3 Aug—Every morning while the mist before dawn still shrouds Kabul's adobe buildings climbing the mountainsides, the long drawn-out cries of the muezzin are heard from the minarets of the mosques calling Muslims to their morning prayers to Allah. The congregation listens to the sermons of the mullah who speaks of the need to restore peace on Afghan soil.

The majority of these are heartfelt, but it sometimes happens that a mullah speaks of peace and acts to its detriment. The counterrevolutionary underground has also penetrated the clergy. We met with one such "mullah" in an interrogation cell of the republic's state security organs.

Believers knew Fazluddin Shaykh as the mullah of one of the mosques near the Soviet Embassy. But no one could believe that this preacher was a member of the "Shefa" ("purge") terrorist organization which is the sabotage branch of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" [IPA] headed by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. We were shown documents confiscated from him when he was arrested. The "Shefa" membership card number 67 and a letter addressed to him by a member of the Afghan capital's underground IPA central council attest more eloquently than any words to the kind of activities the man engaged in. Especially as now that he and his group have been rendered harmless Fazluddin Shaykh makes himself out to be almost a champion of the power of the people, a champion of the implementation of the ideas of national conciliation.

"I look at pictures on television of explosions in the city and of new casualties and I feel sorry for my compatriots," he says. "The people have chosen me as a mullah and I serve the state honestly and engage in no antigovernment activity."

The arrested man had headed one of the cells belonging to the "Shefa" group numbering 105 people. The tasks of Fazluddin Shaykh's cell included antigovernment propaganda among the population. We saw for ourselves how this malicious propaganda is conducted when we arrived at the place where a rocket had fallen on a densely populated quarter of the city. Among the crowd was someone who had spread the rumor that the lethal missile had been launched by government troops. Many people treated us Soviet journalists with caution as well.

The cell which the suspect had headed, engaged by no means only in propaganda. While we were talking with him an army jeep approached out of which they brought weapons found in the house of one of Fazluddin Shaykh's associates.

It is true that the terrorists did not manage to use them—they were caught red-handed. During the investigation Fazluddin Shaykh admitted that he had received instructions from the "Shefa" leaders ordering him to go into hiding and await the return from Pakistan of the courier who would deliver to the capital the plan of further action.

How do the rebels from the underground groupings recruit new people? After all, in Kabul, we were told by one of the leaders of the security organs, the terrorist underground has a strong organizational structure. We were familiarized with recruitment methods right there, when they brought into the room one more member of "Shefa" who this time had indeed been a victim of blackmail by the underground. A year ago the merchant Khaleqdad was approached in his store by one Farid who suggested that the former take part in the armed struggle against the government. When Khaleqdad tried to refuse, citing his poor health and advanced age, Farid threatened him and his family with reprisals.

In the end they agreed that the merchant would pay in a specific sum of money to the organization's fund every month. He was given a "Shefa" membership card and a blank printed form on which the merchant's monthly contributions were recorded.

Raids and searches are taking place in the Afghan capital—a resolute blow against the underground. Two leaders of the sabotage branch of Hikmatyar's gang have been arrested. But other antigovernment groupings like the "Movement of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" are also operating in the city. The competent organs have discovered that the members of the latter grouping have on their conscience the blowing up of an automobile on Nader Pashtun Street as a result of which 18 people were killed and 60 wounded.

The struggle against the Kabul counterrevolutionary underground is continuing. Meanwhile the terrorists, in an attempt to "win back what they have lost," are expanding the scale of their acts of subversion. They are seeking to destabilize the situation in the city and generate dissatisfaction with the ruling regime among the population. On the eve of the planned major offensive on Kabul the rebels are trying to pool the efforts of the "fifth column" operating on the city limits and of the field commanders who have stepped up the shelling of residential regions as never before.

U.S.-USSR Talks Cited

PM0808103389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent M. Yusin dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "We Are Waiting For Effective Measures From the USSR and the United States"; Press Conference by Afghan Foreign Minister"]

[Text] Kabul—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil had hardly returned home after his long foreign tour before he held a press conference on the event which is now riveting the attention of the local mass media—the Soviet-U.S. talks on Afghanistan which have opened in Stockholm.

Soviet and U.S. representatives are meeting to discuss the Afghan problem for the first time since February, when the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was completed. People in Kabul are closely following the Stockholm talks.

'Abdul Wakil presented journalists with the Afghan Government view of the Soviet-U.S. meeting now beginning. The minister welcomed it, saying that it could be an important step for reducing tension in relations between the two superpowers if they succeed in reaching agreement on the possibilities for a peaceful solution to the Afghan problem. "Now, when the civil war in Afghanistan is growing on an increasing scale, we are

waiting for effective measures from both Moscow and Washington," A. Wakil said. "A measure such as simultaneously terminating military supplies to the two sides involved in the conflict is clearly inadequate. Pressure must be brought to bear on the leaders of the opposition in order to persuade them to immediately begin peace talks with the Najibullah government."

In their commentaries on the Stockholm talks the foreign mass media are not overly optimistic about their prospects. Washington is in no hurry to speed up events, preferring to give the mujahidin one more chance to try for success on the battlefield. Diplomats with whom I have spoken in Kabul predict that the United States' Afghan policy will only change if the opposition detachments fail to secure a tangible victory in August or September. If that happens, it is quite possible that in the late fall or early winter the U.S. administration will agree to work out a plan with the Soviet Union for a peace settlement in Afghanistan. But now, when a new flareup of military operations is expected, the United States is hardly likely to decide to take any significant political steps without waiting for the results of the major offensive operations now being prepared by antigovernment forces.

As far as the mujahidin leaders based in Pakistan are concerned, they are categorically opposed to the very idea of Soviet-U.S. talks being held. The president of the opposition "government," S. Mojadeddi, has threatened that any "superpower deal directed against the interests of the Afghan people" will be decisively rejected by the antigovernment camp.

Meanwhile, the conflict in the opposition camp—which flared up in connection with the murder of 30 members of one of the biggest antigovernment organizations, the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," in the northern province of Takhar—is growing and becoming increasingly serious. The leader of this group, B. Rabbani, has reiterated that the responsibility for this action rests personally with the leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," G. Hekmatyar, and is calling for the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" to be excluded from the "interim government."

The past week has been distinguished by a significant increase in mujahidin activity around Kabul. This has taken the form of more frequent attacks on Afghan Army defense positions and, more particularly, an intensification of the missile attacks on the capital. In the last 7 days 60 rocket projectiles have been fired at the city. A total of 66 people have been killed and 266 injured as a result. In just one day, 29 July, 10 missiles fell on Kabul. One of them exploded in the middle of the crowd filling the capital's Saturday bazaar, killing 14 and injuring several dozen innocent citizens.

On the other Afghan war fronts—around Jalalabad, Qandahar, and Khowst—there have been no significant combat operations in recent days. The one exception, perhaps, is Kowt-e 'Ashrow, the administrative center of Vardak

province. A stubborn battle is being waged around the city between the mujahidin and government forces. According to the opposition, its detachments have managed to secure some successes, put pressure on the Afghan Army units, and bring down five helicopters airlifting reinforcements and ammunition into the besieged city. At the same time, competent military sources in the Afghan capital have said that, with the help of reserves taken to Kowt-e 'Ashrow, the mujahidin offensive on the city has been repelled. The situation in this region has now stabilized and is not a source of concern.

Mujahidin Losing Support

PM0808075989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Rebels Lose Support"]

[Text] Washington, 28 Jul—"Rebels Losing Support of Kabul Population"—under this headline THE WASHINGTON POST published an article from the Afghan capital by its correspondent.

"Over the 5 months since the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan," the article states, "growing mistrust of the U.S.-backed 'mujahidin' has been observed in Kabul and, conversely, the population is becoming increasingly tolerant of the Najibullah regime." More than 100 interviews granted to THE WASHINGTON POST correspondent by the city's residents have convinced him that the people are resolutely against continuing the war. "People want peace and security more than anything else. They are not concerned with politics but dream of working quietly," a local television worker said. "Similar feelings are expressed by practically every Afghan with whom I have spoken," the U.S. journalist emphasizes.

Neither the people of Kabul nor the residents of Qandahar, the article points out, believe in the rebels' ability to be a real alternative to the present government. Their own "government," created in Peshawar, represents no one and is torn by internal contradictions.

Further Reportage on Hostage Developments

Crisis Developments Noted

PM0808155789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Review prepared by B. Ivanov: "Hopes Give Way to Disappointment"]

[Text] The glimmers of hope which seemed to be about to appear in the crisis situation around the U.S. hostages held by Muslim extremist groupings in Lebanon have disappeared. Foreign news agencies are coming to this conclusion after they learned about a statement by the Shi'ite "Hizballah" virtually ruling out the chance of exchanging hostages for Arabs who are in Israeli prisons.

Last Sunday the REUTERS office in Beirut received a message from "Hizballah" which indicated that this organization has nothing to do with the hostage problem. The authors of the statement denied reports about talks which have allegedly commenced between "Hizballah" and other interested parties on the fate of the hostages. This organization also categorically refused to fulfill Tel Aviv's demand to free three Israeli soldiers seized at various times since 1986. As for talks, they are possible only if Israel first releases Shaykh A. 'Ubayd. Commenting on this "Hizballah" statement, a French television correspondent stressed directly that it "undermines all possibilities" of settling the crisis.

Statements made by Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani last Friday about his willingness to cooperate in the release of the hostages, judging by press reports, have also still not taken the form of any specific deeds. On the contrary, a commentator for French television Channel One noted, in Iran itself the president's promise to help the United States to solve the hostage problem was met with universal silence. The local newspapers even tried to minimize the significance of the Iranian leader's words, stating that "Washington's continuing threat" forced him to speak in this way, and huge crowds of people went out onto the streets of Tehran chanting: "Down with America!"

Another "disappointing" factor for Washington was Iran's refusal to accept U.S. President G. Bush' request for help. Discussing a dispatch this subject from the Iranian news agency, J. King, a correspondent with the U.S. ABC television company, stated that despite the fact that Rafsanjani had said that help would be given, Tehran is "once again sending contradictory signals."

In addition, the U.S. Administration, at least publicly, is still trying to maintain the optimistic note which had begun to emerge recently. The White House television company correspondent L. Makkarti [name as transliterated] said in her reportage that "in essence there is no retreat by Iran from its former position set out by President Rafsanjani. The 'Hizballah' statement about the refusal to exchange hostages with Israel should be regarded in the same light. The White House does not attach particular significance to this statement, pointing out that there are many diverse reports from the Near East."

Such statements by administration officials reflect the White House desire at all costs to show that the U.S. President is continuing to use all possible means and levers to settle the crisis and that his efforts are achieving a certain degree of success. On this subject THE WASHINGTON POST writes about "the satisfaction expressed by a number of figures in the administration that the first hostage crisis in which Bush was entangled did not end in disaster."

One more report has been added to the intricate mosaic of contradictory and sometimes even mutually exclusive reports from the Near East in the last 24 hours—a

statement by a Muslim grouping calling itself the "Revolutionary Justice Organization" which is holding Joseph Cicippio, one of the U.S. hostages. Let us remind you that at the end of last week it again postponed the execution of this U.S. citizen under pressure from intermediary efforts by a number of countries to solve the crisis. And here is a new statement. In it the members of the grouping express their willingness to release Joseph Cicippio in exchange for the release of Shaykh 'Ubayd and 450 prisoners in Israeli prisons, including participants in the Lebanese resistance and the Palestinian people's uprising in the occupied Arab territories. At the same time there is no mention in the statement of the fate of the three Israeli soldiers on whose release Tel Aviv is insisting above all. These proposals are still being studied carefully in the United States and Israel.

Meanwhile the White House, along with diplomatic maneuvers, continues to carry out intensive military maneuvers, so reserving the right to resort to the military method of solving the problem if necessary. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, President Bush issued an order to the armed forces, which are now concentrated close to Lebanon and Iran, "to be ready to inflict strikes with cruise missiles, bombers, and ship artillery on terrorist training camps and headquarters." Now 46 U.S. Navy warships are concentrated in this area.

But the possibility of using military might to save the hostages is not supported by the Americans. According to a public opinion poll conducted by TIME weekly, 58 percent of U.S. inhabitants were categorically against any military actions in this respect.

Thus, the situation around the hostages remains intricate and complex. Reports from the Near East on the further development of events still do not justify counting on a speedy settlement of the crisis.

U.S. Naval Deployment Related

NC0808120589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The U.S. fleet of warships headed by the USS Thomas G. Gates and the destroyer Kaufmann is in Crimea in Sevastopol, where the Soviet Black Sea naval base is situated. The visit by the U.S. fleet is yet another victory scored in the diplomacy of peace and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as a success scored by the policy of new thinking. [passage omitted]

One cannot but express happiness about the peaceful mission of the U.S. Navy in Sevastopol because this mission is aimed at improving the international and political atmosphere. However, at the same time, disturbing thoughts arise as to whether or not the U.S. fleet will join the immense U.S. Navy stationed on the Lebanese coasts after visiting Sevastopol. The Black Sea is

directly linked to the eastern Mediterranean where tensions have become exacerbated immensely as a result of the operation by Israeli commandos in abducting Shiite Leader Shaykh 'Ubayd followed by the murder of U.S. hostage Lieutenant Colonel Higgins by the terrorists in Lebanon.

The concentration of 46 U.S. warships in the eastern Mediterranean speaks of the U.S. Administration's wish to react to the complicated situation by resorting to its traditional method—gunboat policy. The U.S. mass media does not rule out the possibility of the Pentagon's using its immense force to inflict military blows on Lebanon's Al-Biq'a and on the (?Khark) oil terminal, which is the largest oil terminal in the region. The Americans base their plans for such military steps on the indecent allegations that the Shiite Hizballah organization that has taken the American hostages is influenced by the Iranian leadership.

We think that this reaction by the White House to the hostages' crisis is unjustified. Of course, the concern and aversion felt by the Americans over the kidnapping of their citizens by terrorists can be understood. However, as experience has shown, relying on force here will only increase bloodshed and destruction.

Washington should not ignore the fact that the current phase of the crisis was sparked off by Israel. The United States has many means at its disposal to force the Israeli leadership to adopt a civilized stand. The mediations by the United Nations as well as by several countries, especially Algeria and Iran, should not be ignored. We believe that this path promises a brighter outlook, as far as both the release of the hostages and the improvement of U.S. relations with Arab countries and Iran are concerned. This path will lead to the improvement of the general situation in the Near East.

Unfortunately, the diplomacy of peace is still next to gunboat diplomacy. But we do not want the peace-loving sentiments and expectations that the peace-seeking mission of the U.S. Navy has created in Sevastopol to be marred with suppressive acts in the eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. We want to hope that sober-mindedness will win.

'Glimpses of Hope' Noted

LD0708141889 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] Somewhat reassuring information has emerged in the flow of extremely disquieting reports connected with the recent aggravation of tensions in the Middle East. Aleksandr Pogodin writes the following.

This involves steps taken by different sides in the search for a way out of the highly [words indistinct] mission undertaken by the United Nations under secretary general for special political issues, Goulding, the mediatory endeavors of Algeria, the deep concern over the destiny of hostages and willingness to contribute to resolving the problem expressed by Syria. Observers also attach great importance to the stand taken by Iran, whose leadership has resolutely condemned the killing of the American Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins and proclaimed its intention to use its influence to prevent more assassination. In other words practical activity has begun with a view to stopping the chain reaction of violence triggered off by a provocative action perpetrated by Israel—the abduction of Shaykh 'Ubayd, religious leader of a Shi'ite grouping.

In my view, writes Aleksandr Pogodin, for the time being there are only glimpses of hope for reaching a way out of the dangerous situation. According to the U.S. press, the order of President George Bush to the armed forces concentrated in the region to be ready to use cruise missiles, bombs and naval artillery in launching strikes remains in effect.

On Sunday the Israeli Government reaffirmed its highly tough stance by refusing to search for compromises to ease the tension created by its own actions. Statements made by some extremist groupings in Lebanon also reflect intransigence. So it is premature to entertain illusions since the threat continues to be serious. Under the circumstances the parties involved in the crisis in one way or another should exercise a maximum of restraint, presence of mind, and self-control. This alone can lead to realizing the emerging opportunities to reach a settlement.

Crisis, Israeli 'Terrorism' Linked

NC0708155489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The murder of U.S. Lieutenant Colonel Higgins by Lebanese Shi'ite extremists, and the earlier abduction of Shaykh 'Ubayd [words indistinct], have become events on which international attention is centered. All the mass media are commenting on the incidents. [passage omitted]

As was to be expected, these two incidents had far-reaching repercussions. For example, the U.S. aircraft carrier Coral Sea has interrupted its visit to Egypt and is moving toward Lebanon's shores. This is eloquent testimony of a specific intention. It seems that it would be appropriate to consider the question of just who is to benefit from the barbaric killing of Lt Col Higgins which (?resulted) from the abduction of the Lebanese Shaykh 'Ubayd.

It is no secret that the Lebanese Hizballah is under Iran's influence. It is for this reason that the lion's share of responsibility for Higgins' murder is being attributed to Iran. The timing of this act is interesting too. The

presidential elections had just concluded in Iran and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani had become president. It appears that as part of (?his policy) he intends to end Iran's state of isolation and bring it to a more civilized level. It should not be forgotten that Hashemi-Rafsanjani's first visit abroad, before the elections, was to the Soviet Union.

There is a very little possibility that the instructions to kill Higgins were issued in Tehran, but despite this, the Western mass media have unanimously fired off their accusations in the direction of Tehran. Therefore, it can be clearly perceived that the objective was to reduce the credibility of the new Iranian leader and to abort the trend of the country's efforts to emerge from isolation and its endeavors for post-war economic reconstruction. It must not be forgotten that the fundamental forces in Iran's leadership stand to benefit from Hashemi-Rafsanjani's stance.

However, all this merely constitutes one aspect of the matter. On the other hand, Israel has also acquired a pretext for instigating new propaganda in the fight against terrorism. As is being said in Israel, it is possible that this could take the form of aggression against Lebanon allegedly in order to dismantle a nest of terrorism. Once again, we wish to recall that the direct pretext for the killing of William Higgins (?came) from Israel, after the abduction of Shaykh 'Ubayd, the leader of the Shiite extremists. [passage omitted]

The Palestinian issue was temporarily eclipsed by this incident, which gave the Zionists an opportunity to intensify the suppression of the Palestinian uprising. In other words, it has given them the opportunity to resort to terrorism, but on a state level.

The murder of Higgins is, without doubt, a crime, a barbaric crime which cannot be condoned. As we know, nothing happens in the world without a reason. In order to kill an innocent person, a dirty political game was played; and it is clear that more victims will yet be sacrificed in its wake.

Iran, Algeria Involvement Noted

PM0708104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[S. Dardykin and B. Ivanov roundup under the rubric "Around Events in Lebanon": "Way Out of the Deadlock? Iran Expresses Readiness To Help Free the Hostages. Positive Reaction From White House. Algeria Starts Mediation Mission. U.S. Public Opinion Condemns Tel Aviv"]

[Text] The first rays of hope have appeared in the crisis situation around the U.S. hostages held by Muslim extremist groups in Lebanon. That was how foreign news agencies assessed Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's Friday statement about his readiness to help free the hostages.

Speaking at a mass rally in Tehran, he said, addressing his words to the White House: "The Lebanese crisis can be settled and a decision to free the hostages can be found. Given a reasonable attitude we will be able to solve the problem so as to ensure that the inhabitants of the region can live in peace and friendship."

At the same time, the Iranian leader stressed that if the United States wants to put a stop to the crisis, it should pressure Tel Aviv to release Shaykh A. 'Ubayd, who was kidnapped by Israeli "commandos." This demand by Rafsanjani coincides with the demands of the Muslim organizations holding the U.S. hostages. We recall that one of them—Lieutenant Colonel W. Higgins of the U.S. Marines—was executed by the extremists 31 July under a sentence passed by the pro-Iranian "Organization of the Oppressed on Earth" in response to the 'Ubayd kidnapping.

The Iranian president's statements met with satisfaction and a certain amount of relief in Washington. In conversation with correspondents, U.S. President G. Bush reacted to them as follows: "When a statement is voiced that gives hope that our hostages will be freed, I want to study the smallest details of it. I would appeal to the entire civilized world and all countries to put a stop to the detention of people against their will as hostages."

Later a White House staffer explained to reporters that this appeal applies equally to Israel, which, indeed, began the current crisis.

Privately, administration staffers are noting that it is still not clear what form any possible Iranian assistance in ending the conflict would take, although the very fact that Tehran has become "involved" in the search for a solution to the problem is a positive factor. This was indirectly confirmed by State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler. "We continue to maintain contacts with the Iranian side along various channels," she said during a routine briefing. "Any improvement in relations between our countries depends on the Iranians' readiness to act with full responsibility in the international arena, including their efforts to finally resolve the hostage issue..."

The White House continues to avoid any public condemnation of Tel Aviv's actions. However, opinion polls in the last few days show that Americans' confidence in Israel as a U.S. ally has notably diminished. Some 53 percent of those polled jointly by ABC TV and THE WASHINGTON POST stated that they no longer consider Tel Aviv to be a "reliable ally."

Algeria has become actively involved in the efforts to release the hostages over the past few days. A group of Algerian politicians and leading special service staffers has arrived in Lebanon to establish contact with Muslim groupings holding the 17 hostages from the United States

and West European countries. Khaled al-Hasnawi, Algerian ambassador to Lebanon, told a REUTER correspondent Friday that the election of Rafsanjani as Iranian president might make it easier to resolve the crisis. He added that the Algerians will be holding direct talks with the "kidnappers," while UN and U.S. representatives will be holding talks with Israel. Moreover, the International Red Cross will take part in the search for a solution. Algeria already has experience of mediating in such conflicts. It was Algeria that in 1979-1980, making use of its equally good relations with Washington and Tehran, played a key role in freeing the six U.S. hostages held in Iran.

In the opinion of foreign news agencies, a formula for an eventual solution will be found if it is possible to bring the sides' demands closer together. Israel's position is that the Muslim extremist organizations must free all the hostages and, moreover, the three Israeli soldiers captured at various times since 1986. The conditions laid down by the Muslim organizations are that, apart from Shaykh 'Ubayd, Arabs should be released from Israeli jails—it is not yet known exactly how many.

As a preliminary, a REUTER correspondent reports from Beirut that Tel Aviv has agreed to release 150 Shi'ite Muslims. The agency recalls that such exchanges have already taken place in November 1983, June 1984, May 1985... Last time Israel freed 1,150 Palestinians in exchange for 3 of its soldiers held by the Palestinians.

Soviet Mediation Noted

PM0608184989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[B. Ivanov roundup under the rubric "Around Events in Lebanon": "Search for a Settlement Continues. Stay of Execution for Hostage. World's Press on Soviet Mediation Efforts. Sensational NEW YORK TIMES Report"]

[Text] There has been a new turn in the crisis situation that has emerged in and around Lebanon following an extremist organization's reprisals against U.S. Lieutenant Colonel Higgins.

Another Muslim grouping calling itself the "Revolutionary Justice Organization," which is threatening to execute another U.S. citizen—58-year-old Joseph Cicippio—if the Israelis do not free their captive, Shaykh 'Ubayd, has changed its decision. A statement sent to the Lebanese newspaper AL-NAHAR says that the decision to execute Cicippio has been "frozen." At the same time, the authors of the statement unambiguously hint that this step was taken not as a result of Washington pressure but "as a result of the intervention of other interested parties and states which the United States asked to mediate" in saving the hostage's life.

The White House immediately reacted cautiously, calling the Muslim grouping's actions "encouraging and hopeful" and expressing gratitude to all parties who had

given assistance in the matter. Administration staffers, a REUTER correspondent reports from the U.S. capital, have privately confirmed that on this question the United States has maintained contacts, among others, with Saudi Arabia, Britain, Turkey, Syria, Israel, and the Soviet Union.

Our country's role in settling this crisis was discussed at a routine State Department briefing. Margaret Tutwiler, spokeswoman for the U.S. foreign policy department, in reply to a question on possible "help from the USSR," stated: "We received a response from the USSR, and they too have shown a desire to give assistance."

Many mass media organs are being more definite on this score. Analyzing recent events, the French newspaper LIBERATION wrote: "The Soviet Union has played a decisive role in winning a stay of execution for the U.S. hostage. Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's statement during his talks with new Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani seem to have had an effect... The result was not slow in coming: Hashemi-Rafsanjani... immediately sent a special envoy to Beirut to attempt to conciliate."

The Tehran correspondent for France's TF-1 TV station, commenting on Hashemi-Rafsanjani's description of the Higgins execution as an "unnecessary act of cruelty," stressed that "this step—a show of moderation worthy of a major politician—was most likely taken on the advice of the Soviet foreign minister, who has just visited Tehran." The Iranian president's actions were described in the same way by ABC TV and certain other news agencies.

The attention which U.S. reporters and their Western colleagues are devoting to the steps taken in Tehran is by no means accidental. Washington thinks that Iran has a "unique opportunity" to exert considerable influence on those holding the hostages, since, in the administration's opinion, it maintains ties with the "Hizballah" and other such groupings. NBC's Washington correspondent directly noted in his report that Iran can undoubtedly influence the fate of the U.S. hostages. Last year it was on Iran's orders that the "Revolutionary Justice Organization" grouping, which is now threatening to kill Cicippio, freed its French hostages.

In the meantime, the U.S. Administration continues to make feverish efforts in an attempt to find the key to a settlement of the situation. Although government representatives publicly downplay in every possible way the likelihood of military methods being used to solve the problem, THE NEW YORK TIMES published a sensational report Thursday that President G. Bush was already prepared to order an air strike against Muslim extremist positions in Lebanon, and only Cicippio's stay of execution prevented this military act. The newspaper quotes an unnamed administration staffer who noted that this plan remains in force and could be implemented in the event of reprisals against U.S. hostages.

The White House, however, has again stated that at the present time the President has taken no decision about the use of military force in the event of the American hostage being killed. Later, however, White House Press Secretary M. Fitzwater added that if the killing went ahead, "it would create a very serious situation and we would be ready to react to it." "I do not rule out any solutions, whatever they may be," he said. "You may be sure that basically everything has been planned, all scenarios have been examined, and we will be sticking to them."

Most observers agree about one thing: There is little hope of a swift solution to the problem. "The White House is currently approaching this matter more as a long-term project than as an immediate threat that has given rise to an emergency," ABC TV's White House correspondent B. Hume stated. "One reason for this approach is that White House officials see the situation as a chance to open diplomatic channels—particularly with respect to Iran—which have remained closed for many years."

Trade Official Discusses Cooperation With Iran
*NC0608074689 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT
4 Aug 89*

[Excerpts] Esteemed listeners: During Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran and his talks with the leaders of your country, new practical steps to impart a new spirit to Soviet-Iranian cooperation were discussed and analyzed, as were specific issues pertaining to economic and trade relations between the two countries.

The broadening of contacts between the Soviet Union and Iran is viewed with optimism by heads of various Soviet organizations which have been involved in trade with Iran for many years and are interested in expanding trade relations with your country. Our correspondent Nikolay Galadin interviewed (Yeorgiy Terminasov), deputy director of the Soviet foreign trade organization Sel'khozpromeksport, and asked him to comment on the organization's contacts with its Iranian associates. (Yeorgiy Terminasov) noted that his organization cooperates with Iran in the two fields of irrigation and the construction of silos. [passage omitted]

Noting that there are currently vast tracts of land lying idle and uncultivated which could be used for agricultural production on both sides of the Iranian-Soviet border, (Terminasov) said that this land could be reclaimed and settled by joint efforts. This would undoubtedly please both Soviet and Iranian farmers.

Our correspondent asked (Terminasov) about other fields in which Iran cooperates with the Sel'khozpromeksport company. He pointed to the cooperation with Iranian experts in the construction of silos. The firm constructed 40 silos last year, which account for 70 percent of the capacity of all silos in Iran. [passage omitted]

In my opinion, (Terminosov) added, an exchange of visits between government delegations from Iran and the Soviet Union promotes the consolidation of goodneighborly and economic and trade relations between the people of the two countries.

Hostage Crisis, U.S. Warship Movements Viewed
PM0708105589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Around Events in Lebanon. The Cruiser 'Belknap' Changes Course"]

[Text] At a time when the life of each of the approximately 20 foreign hostages in Lebanon may come to a tragic end at any moment, news agencies' reports that U.S. warships are concentrating in the eastern Mediterranean are fueling the atmosphere of crisis around this country. IZVESTIYA wrote yesterday about the redeployment of the aircraft carrier "Coral Sea" escorted by two cruisers. Now, according to UPI, the cruiser "Belknap," the 6th Fleet's flagship, equipped with guided missiles, has joined these maneuvers.

The "Belknap" was to have paid a goodwill visit to Sevastopol, which was planned a long time ago. However, Vice Admiral J. Williams, commander of the 6th Fleet, received new orders "in connection with unforeseen circumstances." Pentagon sources explained that the ship returned to the Mediterranean to manage operations around Lebanon. According to U.S. official data, a total of 14 ships have cut short their visits to various ports and put to sea. These operations have not only affected the Near East. The aircraft carrier "America" left Singapore and moved to the Indian Ocean so that "Iran is within striking distance," UPI stresses.

Nevertheless officials in Washington are trying to play down the significance of this concentration of forces, putting the stress on diplomatic methods of resolving the problem. When President Bush was asked whether military action was being planned, he replied: "We are making prudent plans"...—and refused to give any further explanations regarding the results of his 3 days of meetings with his staffers and telephone negotiations with other countries' leaders.

The United Nations has not stopped its efforts to settle the crisis. M. Goulding, UN deputy secretary general, arrived in southern Lebanon by helicopter from Israel. Goulding met with a representative of the UN armed forces in this area. He is expected to visit Beirut later.

What specifically is known about the fate of the hostages now? Since we are unable to talk about each one here, we will mention just two. CBS TV reports that a pro-Iranian grouping in Beirut announced that it had postponed the execution of Joseph Cicippio, a U.S. university employee, by 48 hours in response to a dramatic appeal from his Lebanese wife, who spoke at a press conference.

Anglican clergyman Terry Waite, the father of three children, made frequent trips to Lebanon as an emissary for the archbishop of Canterbury to help the hostages. He achieved success in one instance, but at the beginning of 1987 he himself was captured and held, as reported, in the basement of a school in Southern Lebanon. His captors are now also threatening to execute him.

The tragic fate of the hostages has a humanitarian, political, and even psychological aspect. In the opinion of D. Malder, a prominent scientist from Holland, the difficulty of the situation is being aggravated by the fact that the Muslim fundamentalists who seized the hostages cannot distinguish between their abstract concepts and the people in front of them. For the extremists who live cut off from the world their prisoners embody, in the literal sense of the word, the "satanic West."

However hard it would be to hold talks with the captors, one cannot help but recall that the present hostage crisis was initiated by the Israeli "commandos" actions. That is why a wave of criticism is mounting in the Western press against Israeli leaders and their policy with regard to the Arabs.

Katushev Holds Cooperation Talks in Libya
LD0808102189 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT
8 Aug 89

[Text] Tripoli August 8 TASS—Soviet-Libyan talks on matters concerning the development of trade and economic contacts are going on here.

Various aspects of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries on a mutually-beneficial basis are under discussion during meetings between Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations who leads the Soviet government delegation, and Fawzi al-Shakshuki, secretary of the general people's committee for petroleum, and at the meetings of working groups.

Prospects for the Soviet Union's participation in the construction of thermal power stations, high-voltage power transmission lines, a railway and other important economic facilities in Libya are being considered in detail.

Lack of Coverage on Libya Arms Sale Protested
PM0808142389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from reader A. Valiyev of Andizhan: "Knowing About Arms Sales"]

[Text] The foreign media are strongly discussing (in negative terms, naturally) the fact that Soviet fighters are being supplied to Libya. Counterarguments can probably be found. But why did I only learn this fact from the rumpus in the Western press? Where was the public discussion of the question of the expediency of supplying the fighters? And why to Libya? What are we getting for

them? We once supplied military hardware to Egypt and other countries of the Arab East. But we still do not know the terms on which this was done.

Perhaps I am wrong. In that case I would like to watch the televised debates at the USSR Supreme Soviet and hear "my" deputy make a speech on this issue. A. Valiyev, military physician. Andizhan.

Indian Envoy Presents Credentials to Lukyanov
LD0808140789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Today Gonsalves, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of India, presented his credentials in the Kremlin to Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee. Receiving the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet, Comrade Lukyanov stressed that for the first time in relations between our countries much has been demonstrated that represents the typical signs of the new thinking in world politics. Following the presentation of credentials, Lukyanov and Gonsalves held a warm and friendly conversation in which USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Komplektov took part.

Comparison of Shevardnadze, Natwar Singh Meeting
PM0308154589

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 1 August 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on a meeting between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Indian Minister of State for External Affairs K. Natwar Singh 31 July in Paris. Comparison of the PRAVDA item entitled "Meetings in Paris," with the translation of the TASS International Service in Russian item entitled "Shevardnadze Meets Indian Counterpart in Paris," published in the 1 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, reveals the following variation:

page 27, column one, paragraph one of item, only sentence should read: ...foreign affairs and K. Natwar Singh, Indian minister of state for external affairs.

Profound satisfaction was... (supplying new name and title).

East Europe

Growing Differences Noted Inside Solidarity
LD0708201189 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw July 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vaientin Volkov:

Differences are on the rise inside the Solidarity trade union, a movement embracing diverse segments of people. Szczecin was the venue for the 3rd Polish meeting of participants in "the agreement for the sake of holding

democratic elections in the Solidarity trade union" which united various groups opposing Lech Walesa. It elected the agreement's secretariat consisting of several people from among representatives of Warsaw, Lodz, Szczecin, Wroclaw and some other cities. M. Yurczik of Szczecin was elected secretariat chairman. The secretariat will be engaged in organisational work to prepare, hold "democratic elections in the union and to work out a draft programme of the Solidarity trade union."

The members of the agreement took a resolution criticising the government's decision to introduce market mechanisms in the food sphere, which, according to them, will inevitably result in lower living standards of population and will create a threat of a new wave of strikes. At the same time the authors of the resolution call attention of work collectives to the fact that strikes also become a threat to the economy and should be regarded only as an extreme measure.

Six out of 11 members of the presidium of the regional organisational Solidarity commission in Lodz "revolted" against authoritarian methods of leadership adopted by its chairman R. Kostszewa. The newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA reports today that they accused him of despotic methods of the union's leadership, of thwarting the initiatives of the presidium and wrong financial policy. They demanded that no-confidence resolution was rejected by a majority vote, five of its six co-authors resigned.

Journal Views Bulgarian Muslim Situation
AU0608184889 Sofia BTA in English
1730 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 6 (BTA)—In his reporting "Six Centuries and Two Months" the journalist Sergey Marinov, special correspondent of the "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" newspaper, refers to his talk with Mr Ivan Ganey, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria. The publication treats the events that have been taking place in Bulgaria since the beginning of the summer.

Conveying his talk with Mr Ivan Ganey, deputy minister of foreign affairs, the "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" correspondent states the position of the Bulgarian side. "We are for a dialogue with Turkey, for normalization of our relations. Many of the Bulgarian Muslims who have left for Turkey would like to come back, but the Turkish authorities are hampering them. This would become the subject of negotiations with Turkey", quotes the Soviet journalist Mr Ivan Ganey's words.

Recalling Bulgaria's consistent foreign policy in connection with all problems related to the fulfilment of the agreement contained in the final document of the Vienna Follow-Up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Soviet journalist familiarizes his readers with the recent changes of Bulgaria's legislation concerning the travelling of Bulgarian citizens abroad.

Hundreds of people are leaving the country where they were born, where they grew up and brought up their own children, where their ancestors were born and died, writes the Soviet journalist, commenting on what he has seen at the Kapitan Andreevo border check point. He points out the good organization at the Bulgarian border, the care taken of those leaving the country, the medical services provided.

Turning to the past, he recalls the tragic pages of the history of the Bulgarian people which was subjected to cruel assimilation on the part of the Ottoman enslavers. Foreign travellers who crossed the Balkan Peninsula, consuls and scholars who lived here in the 15th-19th century period left abundant evidence of the assimilation policy pursued by the Ottoman Empire at that time and of the local origin of most of the Muslim population in the land, the "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" special correspondent underlines.

In his report from the region of Khaskovo (Southern Bulgaria) he writes in detail about the efforts made to gather in the crops and restore the labour rhythm at a lot of enterprises and farms.

West Europe

Kohl Remarks on Border Issue Noted

LD0708211189 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Bonn August 8 TASS—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl again pointed out that the treaties concluded in the 1970's between the Federal Republic and Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR are fully in force. These treaties formalised the inviolability of post-war borders in Europe, including Polish western borders along the Oder and Neisse. In an interview with West German television, the chancellor said that he saw no point in continuing the discussion on this topic.

An interview with the Munich-based weekly BUNTE by Alfred Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] group at the Bundestag, prompted the present statement by Kohl. The weekly continued the discussion on the borders started recently by CSU Chairman Theo Waigel. Echoing him, Dregger said that the German Reich from the international legal point of view continues to exist within the 1937 borders and that the German question remains open. The leader of West German right-wingers also advanced claims for the regions east of the Oder and Neisse, which belong to Poland.

Local political analysts call attention to the fact that the right-wing quarters launched the discussion on the Polish western border precisely at a time when the West German chancellor planned a visit to Poland, timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary of Nazi Germany's attack on Poland. As a result, the visit was put off.

Karsten Voigt, expert of SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] Bundestag group on foreign affairs, censured the decision to put off the chancellor's visit, noting that Kohl yielded to the pressure put by the CDU/CSU right wing. He called on the head of the Bonn cabinet to dot I's and cross T's and to say honestly that the Polish western border is as final as the French eastern border.

Gorbachev Message to Friendship Youth Festival

LD0708152589 Moscow International Service
in Finnish 1430 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] At [name indistinct] near Helsinki, the seventh friendship festival of Soviet and Finnish youth has begun. It is held every other year in alternating countries. The slogan for the festival this time is "Reform in the Spirit of Glasnost". Mikhail Gorbachev has sent the following message of greeting to the participants in the festival:

Dear friends, I greet you, representatives of the young generation of Finland and the Soviet Union. I am sure that youth will continue to reform and enrich Soviet and Finnish cooperation, whose historic basis is the YYA Treaty [Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and mutual assistance] of 1948. Previous generations have created an original and enduring structure for our cooperation. It has stood the tests of time, and its most important feature is trust. The task of you young people is to preserve this joint achievement of ours, and to complement it with new ideas and material. In your energetic hands is the future of your countries, the (?future of each country), and the task of making it a joint home for all. Cooperation between Soviet and Finnish youth is a natural and necessary part of the European process. Your task is to build an ecologically clean world without nuclear weapons and without violence, where the security of everyone is a condition for all security, and where there is no room for power politics or militarism. You must create a free and humane community of nations and states; a common space in Europe for people's creative work. In your hands is the fate of the world. You will surely solve much more difficult and interesting tasks for the next century. Prepare for this, prepare together! I am sure you will succeed in this task; I wish success to your festival. May it promote our international contacts, friendship, and the development of good neighborliness.

DKP Demands Sta'in Victim's Rehabilitation

PM0308111689 Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUELT
in Danish 1 Aug 89 p 5

[RITZAUS BUREAU report: "Calls for Rehabilitation of Danish Communist"]

[Text] The widow of Danish Communist Arne Munch-Petersen is now demanding that the Soviet Union publicly exonerate the late Dane. Arne Munch-Petersen died as a victim of Stalin's purges in a Soviet prison in 1940. At the same time the leadership of the Danish Communist Party (DKP) will approach the CPSU with the same demand.

Arne Munch-Petersen's widow, 87-year-old Elna Hiort-Lorenzen, said in the context of the new information about her husband's fate that she feels "sorrow and anger."

"Sorrow: knowing that Arne sat isolated and helpless in a Moscow prison at the same time as we, his family and the party, since 1937 had been seeking information in vain; and anger at the cruel treatment to which the authorities of the time subjected him." Elna Hiort-Lorenzen told this to the Soviet APN press agency, which last week published the new information on Munch-Petersen's fate, which for years has been shrouded in mystery.

Arne Munch-Petersen, who since 1936 had been the Danish representative on the Komintern in Moscow, was arrested in 1937 on the direct orders of the chief of the Soviet Union's secret police. Officially it was said that Munch-Petersen belonged to a "counterrevolutionary" organization.

"Arne died as a victim of the terror of the times from which all are now dissociating themselves. Arne's family and party must expect an official statement from the Soviet side condemning and regretting the fate that Arne suffered," Elna Hiort-Lorenzen said.

Yesterday, through the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen, the DKP approached the CPSU in Moscow demanding to be sent all the facts of the case—information which the DKP will then make public.

"We will also demand that Arne Munch-Petersen be officially cleared of the accusations leveled at him. This affair must end honorably," DKP chairman Ole Sohn told RITZAUS BUREAU. He added that the party Secretariat will meet today to discuss the manner in which the DKP will demand the rehabilitation of Arne Munch-Petersen.

USSR Apologizes for Violating Swedish Waters

LD0308195189 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish
1600 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] The Soviet Union has apologized to Sweden over the fact that the Soviet vessel "Strelets" was in Swedish fishing waters off Oland at the end of June. The Soviet Embassy states that "Strelets" was engaged in research work in the area and the embassy regrets that the master of the vessel did not announce this in advance. With this apology the Swedish Foreign Ministry considers the matter closed.

Political & Social

PRAVDA Publishes Gorbachev Supreme Soviet Speech
PM0708130389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 89
Second Edition pp 1-2

["M.S. Gorbachev's Speech on the Conclusion of the Work of the First USSR Supreme Soviet Session"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev delivered the concluding speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet session [4 August].

The items on the agenda of the first session of the new USSR Supreme Soviet have been exhausted, he said. We are to disperse for the vacation, although this concept may now, I believe, be employed with a great deal of conditionality. For the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, the Presidium, and the apparatus are to continue their activity and carry out the necessary preparatory work which will make it possible to ensure the fulfillment of the extensive legislative program outlined for the Second USSR Supreme Soviet Session. A hot fall full of strenuous work awaits us.

How to assess the results of the 2-month work of the First USSR Supreme Soviet Session? I know there are different views on this. However, no one will dispute the fact that the Congress of People's Deputies and then the first session of the Supreme Soviet elected by it were crucial events in the country's life. We now have not ostentatious but active organs of people's representation. There is an all-union rostrum from which the voice of deputies is freely heard, expressing the hopes, aspirations, and will of all sections of Soviet society. The sound foundations of a socialist rule-of-law state have thus been laid, guarantees of the irreversibility of perestroika have been strengthened, and reliable political preconditions have been created for the resolution of its key task—that of combining socialism with democracy.

Today you and I can state that the correctness of the very idea of restructuring the country's supreme organs of state power has been confirmed.

As is known, that idea was based on Lenin's idea of combining the advantages of the Soviet system with the benefits of parliamentarianism. And if there might hitherto have been doubts about the possibility of realizing this idea in practice, now, I believe, there is no room left for such doubts.

The Congress showed itself to be a powerful tool of the people's will, capable of resolving the most important, constitutional questions of our state social development on a democratic basis. It will be equally fair to apply this assessment also to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Can the Supreme Soviet session be considered the continuation and the deepening of the work of the Congress of People's Deputies? This is not a rhetorical question. It

is always on the agenda, and we hear different answers to it. Doubts have been voiced as to whether the Supreme Soviet is capable of expressing the ideas of the Congress and competently carrying out the course charted by it. The session seems to have demonstrated in all its work its adherence to this course and to have done everything to implement it.

We tried to inject the maximum professionalism into the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to get away from rally forms of discussing questions, but not to the detriment of ties with the masses. And it seems to me that we succeeded, in the main, in this too. Therefore it may be said with good reason that we have found an effective variant of the permanently functioning supreme legislative, executive, and monitoring organ of power implementing the course charted by the Congress.

The fears that the Supreme Soviet would stand aloof from the whole corps of more than 2,000 deputies and become some kind of closed collegium were not justified either.

A representative detachment of people's deputies who are not members of the USSR Supreme Soviet participated in the work of practically every joint or separate sitting of the Supreme Soviet chambers. They had every opportunity to participate in the debates, make suggestions, and really influence the course of the discussion and the decisionmaking. Our sitting today is also evidence of this. In short, the continuity link between the Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet has not been weakened in this sphere either.

In preparing the new structures of the supreme organs of power, we proceeded from the premise that the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions will carry out the main elaboration of problems. In this sphere too the concept of the political reform has confirmed its viability. More than 900 deputies have developed multifaceted work on commissions and committees, half of them being people's deputies who are not members of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Specialists and eminent scientists from various branches of knowledge have been widely involved in this work. The creative potential necessary to examine a particular problem has been created.

I wish to emphasize, however, that the possibility of this form of functioning of people's power has so far been realized far from fully. I believe you will agree with this statement. In the future the share of the commissions' and committees' work in the overall volume of the USSR Supreme Soviet's activity will increase.

While noting these undoubtedly positive and very important results of the work of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, you and I must also see the shortcomings and weaknesses in their organization and functioning. We have not always been organized—which has resulted in precious time being lost. Both the press and citizens' appeals have pointed to

symptoms of such parliamentary diseases as excessive loquacity and a tendency toward stilted speeches and sometimes, on the contrary, a lack of parliamentary culture in contacts with one another.

Of course, our new supreme organs of power have still by no means attained their full capacity or made use of the whole potential enshrined in them. But it must also be seen that, scarcely having begun its activity, the Supreme Soviet is gathering momentum literally day by day before the eyes of millions of people observing its work and is demonstrating an in-depth approach to resolving problems. Speeches from this rostrum are becoming greater in terms of political significance and more competent in terms of specific substance. The level and outcome of the debates are being enhanced, and in committee, commission, and chamber sittings the deputies are mastering the art of legislative work and gaining experience.

In short, the general impression from the First Supreme Soviet Session enables me to express confidence that we will have a strong, hardworking Soviet parliament. It may not yet be this today, but I am sure that there are grounds for such a conclusion.

This means that the political decisions on which the fate of the country and the people depends will henceforth always be prepared, discussed, and adopted not by a narrow circle of individuals but by the people's elected representatives, not in closed session but in public, before the eyes of the whole of society. And not only before the eyes of Soviet people but also with their very active participation. In addition to the setting up of the supreme organs of power, the rapid development of the Soviet people's political awareness was a very important result of the first stage of the political reform.

Our mass media have reported that the country has been through a school of politics over the past 2 and 1/2 months. I believe that this has been a whole university in terms of intensiveness. The fostering of active citizens is another and, perhaps, the most important result of the political reform.

Now about what can be counted as the practical results of our work. It must be stated first of all that new relations have been created between legislative and executive power—such as they must be in terms of their nature and purpose.

For the first time in the whole post-Lenin period we have created a government whose every member must undergo rigorous examination by deputies first in the committees and commissions and then in sittings of the chambers. Having received a mandate of trust, our departments' leaders are now obliged to exert all their effort and abilities to fulfill the programs they set forth and the pledges they adopted and to resolutely advance

perestroika. It goes without saying that the Supreme Soviet will continue to monitor the work of the government, while at the same time not burdening it with excessive petty tutelage.

The approval of the government's composition is a management function of the Supreme Soviet. It can already be seen that this will occupy a large place in the work of the chambers, committees, and commissions. Yet legislation is their chief field of activity. Despite the lack of time, it has been possible in a comparatively short time not only to adopt a number of urgent decisions but also to create solid groundwork for the future.

First, legislative acts governing the very organization of the Supreme Soviet and its work procedure must be ready for examination at its next session, and much has already been done for this. These are the Law on the Status of People's deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet Standing Orders, and a number of others. Their significance is immense. It is clear to everyone that the efficiency of the Supreme Soviet's work depends to a great degree on how finely tuned its mechanism is, how well adjusted the procedure is, and how efficiently and concertedly the auxiliary services operate.

Second, intensive preparations are being made for a series of laws designed to create legal bases for the further development of the economic and political reform. The most important of these, which, as we have agreed, are to be examined as a priority, are the laws on ownership, on land and land use, on leasing, on the unified tax system, on the general principles of local self-management and economy, on the general principles of leadership of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics, on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes, on trade unions' rights, and on young people.

There are grounds for hoping that we will be able already in the fall to begin a thorough examination of laws which directly continue the Constitution—on the press and other mass media, on citizens' public associations, on freedom of conscience.

The USSR Supreme Soviet focused attention, above all, on economic and social problems. This was strongly manifested also in the formation of the government, where such questions essentially were central. It also told in full in the discussion of the question of the Baltic republics' transfer to economic accountability. The debate was very active, and the joint quest led to the adoption of decisions of very great importance to our whole federation.

Economic problems in all their complexity and contradictoriness were the object of intent examination when approving the decrees submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Such key questions of management at the contemporary stage as leasing, economic accountability, cooperatives, and the tax system were once again in the deputies' field of view.

The changes made by the Supreme Soviet to the earlier adopted Law on the State Enterprise merit a special mention. As you know, this question did not at first feature on the agenda. The fact that it was raised at the session attests that the Soviet parliament clearly detects the impulses proceeding from life. Precisely life required amendments to be made to the existing law so as to open the valve for the more rapid advance of the economic reform. I believe a great thing has been done, and this will be evaluated properly.

The adoption of decisions on acute, urgent problems of our development should undoubtedly be counted among the most important results of the work of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet. I mean, above all, the law "On Urgent Measures To Improve Pension Provision and Social Services for the Population," which we adopted 2 days ago. The people's deputies demanded the accelerated resolution of this very painful question for society and helped the government to find the necessary means. The party, the trade unions, the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League, the Peace Fund, labor collectives, managerial organs, and many other public organizations made their contribution. And this practical measure attests better than any statements that the Supreme Soviet considers concern for satisfying the vital requirements of the people—primarily those sections in greatest need of help—as its chief concern.

The USSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to accelerate the elaboration of a draft law on pension provision and to submit it already this year. The decision was adopted on the deputies' behalf to purchase goods and medicines by way of imports—which will make it possible to increase internal commodity turnover by approximately R10 billion.

Of course, far from everything can be resolved at once. The limited resources, the country's disordered financial position, and the slow pace of perestroika tell. During the fall months we have to prepare and adopt far-reaching decisions concerning the economic reform and the improvement of the economic situation in the country. We have firmly embarked on the path of straightening out the distortions we inherited from the past, as well as the problems which have arisen recently.

The Supreme Soviet Commission on Benefits and Privileges has begun its work. The commission proposes to transfer to general use without delay the children's medical-sanatorium establishments under the jurisdiction of the Fourth Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Health and a number of rest homes with a view to organizing complexes of the "Mother and Child" type on this basis. I consider this proposal correct. This is also the government's viewpoint. I can report that a decision has been adopted to transfer a number of state dachas in Moscow Oblast for the same purposes—in addition to those transferred earlier.

The commission has put a proposal to the union republic councils of ministers to adopt similar decisions as soon as possible and to make them public.

Comrades, during the Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet sittings we fully felt the urgency of resolving the ecological problem. At the fall session of the Supreme Soviet questions of ecological safety must be raised most acutely, and the country demands that very resolute measures be taken in this sphere. The corresponding Supreme Soviet committees and commissions must place under their control the elaboration of a national ecological program. This is not just a question of the citing of production forces, not just a local task, so to speak, of cleaning up enterprises which have a negative influence on the environment, but a question of our people's very life, of their present and future. And we must approach its resolution in this way.

I must say that today representatives of the Ecology Committee have come up with a proposal that, when we meet in the fall, without waiting for the completion of the formulation of the comprehensive nationalities program that is to form part of the 13th and subsequent 5-year plans, we should single out the urgent problems on which government decisions, and where necessary USSR Supreme Soviet decisions, should be adopted. I think these proposals will have been drawn up by the time we return after the summer vacation, and we will be able to assess them and decide how to act.

In speaking of the results of our activity, I cannot bypass another aspect. The First USSR Supreme Soviet Session took place during a very difficult period. In the last 6 weeks we have frankly had literally not one single peaceful day.

The USSR Supreme Soviet, like party and government organs, was directly involved in all the events and conflict situations that occurred during these days. All of us together held consultations on how to extinguish the hotbeds of conflict, soothe passions, restore justice where it was violated, care for the victims, and prevent the repetition of similar phenomena in future.

In saying this I have in mind first and foremost interethnic relations. Of course, these problems cannot be resolved just like that. Commissions set up by the Soviet of Nationalities on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and on the problems of the Meskhethian Turks, the Crimean Tatars, and the Soviet Germans are now at work. An all-around study is under way, a careful search for solutions to urgent questions taking into account the interests of all the country's peoples.

This work is complex, but together we must find the optimum solutions to all these problems. Such solutions can be found not by stepping up the tension, but through joint constructive efforts. Restraint and mutual respect are needed now. We must all think about the possible results of interethnic conflicts. I particularly wish to mention the

fate of the refugees, the many people who have found themselves in such trouble. It is necessary to show the greatest possible attention toward these people, wherever they may be now. But the main thing is to act jointly to eliminate the factors giving rise to the flow of refugees.

I also considered it necessary to speak of this because warnings have been received in recent days suggesting that passions have by no means subsided everywhere, but in some places the situation has even deteriorated again. I think, comrades, that the Supreme Soviet should once again appeal to all our peoples to show restraint and patience, move toward cooperation and reconciliation, and eliminate the problems. There is no other way, any other approach leads to an impasse and to human tragedies.

The strikes in the country's coal mining regions were a serious test for us. Vigorous, coordinated actions by the party, the government, and the trade unions were needed in order to arrive, together with the labor collectives, at a resolution of the demands put forward by the miners. And it must be said that here great assistance was provided by the deputies from those regions, who went to their voters and became actively involved in the quest for a way out of the situation that had developed.

We have heard a reproach here today that our government took fright and all but panicked. I suppose this referred primarily to my speech on this question when there were indications of a possible strike by railmen. I want to reject these suspicions at once. There is no feeling of panic in the country's leadership, although some people are trying to instill the view that that is the case. But during these difficult days the leadership conveyed to society its real anxiety, its assessment, devoid of any attempts to put a brave face on things, of what is happening and of where, frankly speaking, the development of these events could lead. I think we acted correctly and responsibly by conducting an open and honest dialogue with the people. This is not panic, it is what we call *perestroyka*. That is the answer to all the critics who exploit this subject for their own ambitious and self-seeking purposes.

There can be no doubt that a major part was also played by the discussion of these questions at the session and the appeal adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet to stop the strikes, which do enormous damage to the country, as soon as possible.

We should all learn lessons from what has happened. And the first lesson is—in the conditions of *perestroyka*, democratization, and reforms, all the problems that arise should be resolved through constructive dialogue between the organs of power and management and the working people, with a view to achieving solutions that are acceptable to a particular population group and to the whole of society. And also, of course, in the context of the real potential available to our country today.

Here close collaboration between the center and the localities is particularly necessary. I have had occasion to speak on this subject before. There is no point in denying that now that we have come up against a series of acute economic and social problems, some cadres have fallen into the temptation of shrugging off the blame and putting it on others. This takes place both "at the grass roots" and at the center.

And now local leaders are beginning to accuse the central organs and departments of every mortal sin, while they, in turn, accuse the localities of inactivity, an inclination to be dependent, and a desire to grab as much as possible from all-union resources.

Of course, both sides' accusations contain an element of truth; which of them contains more, is something that has to be studied in each specific case. But what is probably far more important than blaming each other for blunders and failures is to establish a well balanced, careful division of labor, rights, powers, and responsibility. Basically, this, comrades, is now the main question in all the reforms—economic and political. The Supreme Soviet has already adopted a number of decisions accordingly, but we still have a good deal of work to do in this area.

Let me also speak about another sphere in which, it must be admitted honestly, we have not yet achieved the desired progress. This is the struggle against crime. We all feel legitimate anxiety and indignation that it has taken on such a threatening scale recently. What lies behind this is, of course, certain economic and social factors, but first and foremost the slackening in the activity of law enforcement organs, the inadequate assistance given to them by society, and, if you like, the inadequate backup for their activity in the form of the necessary legal norms and principles.

You and I have given instructions in general terms to speed up the drafting of legislative acts relating to the implementation of the judicial and legal reform. But, frankly speaking, I myself and, I suppose, all the deputies were left with a feeling of dissatisfaction that we are going away without having stated our position of principle at the present Supreme Soviet session. I therefore deemed it necessary to submit for your examination the draft USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Resolute Measures To Combat Crime." Its adoption opens a new stage in this struggle. I am sure that it will be approved by society and that the actions of the new organs we will set up on the basis of the resolution will be supported by all Soviet people.

At its very first session the Supreme Soviet embarked on the examination of international questions. A message was adopted to the U.S. Congress on the question of a moratorium on nuclear explosions and the ending of nuclear tests. Three USSR international acts were ratified. Decrees were approved on the question of setting up mixed enterprises and Soviet trade missions abroad.

Plans were outlined for the exchange of state and parliamentary delegations. The deputies were briefed on the results of the visits to Britain, France, and the FRG, on the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference, and on the trip by a Supreme Soviet delegation to Brazil and Argentina. A report was heard on our representatives' participation in the international parliamentary conference on the Near East.

That, comrades, is a brief survey of what has been done at the first session. As you can see, for all our dissatisfaction with our work, we have something to record on the credit side.

But of course, the results of the first session are not confined to that. They are more weighty and more diverse. The Supreme Soviet has provided a positive impetus in many areas of domestic policy. Here I would stress first of all that its work, following on from the Congress, gave a powerful boost to the local organs of power. I think great significance is attached to the resolution adopted on holding extraordinary sessions of the soviets of people's deputies with reports from management and executive organs. They will be centered on questions of the fulfillment of regional socioeconomic problems and the formulation of measures resolutely to overcome everything that hampers perestroika.

Preparatory work in connection with the forthcoming elections of republican and local organs is very complex and important. The discussion held on these questions raises the expectation that solutions will be found that are acceptable to everyone and accord with the tasks of political reform.

As you remember, the Supreme Soviet came out in favor of bringing forward the elections to local soviets of people's deputies. We have already informed you that this work is in progress in the republics, draft laws on elections are in preparation, and they will soon be published for wide discussion. Naturally, in order to give them the green light we will have to make amendments to the Constitution. You and I have discussed this question thoroughly and in detail. Today the Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed a commission to prepare these amendments for submission to the next session. As for the Congress, the amendments could be ratified by means of a poll of all USSR people's deputies. This will provide an opportunity to launch and conduct an election campaign in good time. As I understand it, all the deputies agree on this. This is also the opinion—I talked with Comrade Popov on this point today—of the Interregional Group.

In general, comrades, we have a right to say that the USSR Supreme Soviet has given an account of itself as an authoritative component in our renewing political system. Its role is tangible, and will certainly increase. I have no doubt of that.

This imposes a great responsibility on us and makes it incumbent on us to improve the activity of committees and commissions and raise the general standard of the Soviet parliament's work. It is necessary rapidly to resolve questions of daily life too, so that the Supreme Soviet members can fulfill their duties as deputies calmly and fruitfully. The Presidium apparatus should take care of all this.

But of course, the most important thing of all is the atmosphere that will prevail in the Supreme Soviet. The ideal formula, if I can put it like that, includes, it seems to me, two closely interconnected components. These are absolute freedom of debate and the possibility of expressing any views or positions whatever, on the one hand, and the orientation toward the desire to achieve a reasonable common decision, as far as possible by consensus, on the other.

It seems to me that in general the work of both the Congress and the Supreme Soviet took place in this spirit, albeit not without problems. But another trend also made itself felt. We were recently told of the formation of the Interregional Group. It is basically a question of an attempt to give some kind of organizational form to natural differences in views and approaches to the problems of social development. Some comrades from the Interregional Group are calling themselves left-wing radicals. What does that mean—that the others should be regarded, or should even describe themselves, as centrists or right-wingers? How this will profit the cause—as yet, I find that question hard to answer. All this must be given careful consideration. But will this artificial demarcation not lead to confrontation on specific questions that our Supreme Soviet has to tackle, will it not thereby complicate the fulfillment of the tasks that the voters and Soviet society expect us to fulfill?

Frankly speaking, in the debate that has so far taken place in the Interregional Group—if you disregard the provocative calls of some of its members, especially during rallies—no opinions have yet been expressed that could not have been voiced here, from the platform of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Surely that is the best proof that we need to consolidate, not to divide. If we have a common cause, if we all consider it our highest duty to lead the country out of crisis through perestroika, improve the people's material and spiritual well-being, renew our socialist social system, and uncover its rich potential—if we all agree on this, we will always be able to reach agreement.

I think the deputies will agree that we must follow precisely this path—the path of the pooling of efforts and strengthening of mutual trust. This in no way denies the possibility of upholding principled views. The past days of the Supreme Soviet's work have already shown clearly that pluralism of opinion cannot be any obstacle to unity of action.

A few words about the organization of our future work. It is clearly expedient to begin the fall session of the Supreme Soviet with work by committees and commissions. The package of draft laws that has been issued to you must be "shaken down" thoroughly, and this work must begin promptly on Monday 18 September. As I understand it, everyone agrees with that. A week of work by the commissions and committees will make it possible to be better prepared for the joint sittings of the chambers—these could begin on 25 September.

An important event of the remaining part of this year will undoubtedly be the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. We must prepare for it very solidly. In a sense, it will sum up the results of the Supreme Soviet's work; much of what it is planned to submit to the Congress cannot be deferred or postponed. This applies first and foremost to questions of building the constitution. The urgent amendments and additions to the Fundamental Law must be carefully examined and formulated in the near future. A commission has been set up for this purpose and is already at work. After discussion of this question in the Supreme Soviet, it will be handed over to the Congress for the final decision.

At the second Congress we also have to adopt major, radical measures to normalize the economy. The basic guidelines for the development of the national economy for the 13th 5-Year Plan and the longer term must be defined. How far we are able to incorporate in them the urgent needs of development and how far we are able to coordinate our aims with our potential and mobilize all production potential will determine to a considerable degree the fate of perestroika and our future.

So, much very serious work lies ahead. Its content and pace are determined by the urgency of the problems facing the country and by the urgent tasks that we must resolve on a priority basis.

In conclusion, dear comrades, I would like to wish you a good vacation. I think we have all earned it. And for those who are going to meet with their voters or to continue work on the committees and commissions, I wish you successful results.

I declare the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, first convocation, closed.

Yeltsin Criticizes Gorbachev on Economy
LD0808103289 Stockholm International Service
in Swedish 0930 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, member of the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, today criticized Mikhail Gorbachev for not having a clear program to solve the country's economic crisis. Yeltsin believes the Soviet Union is in a critical situation, with a considerable foreign debt, low standard of living, and 48 million people living under the

minimum subsistence level. Yeltsin's criticism of the state leadership appears in an article in the Stockholm newspaper DAGENS NYHETER.

Lukyanov Comments on Supreme Soviet Session
LD0708224189 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—All the healthy forces of Soviet society must now work for perestroika, said Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in an interview with Soviet journalists. The interview has been broadcast on Soviet central television today.

Appraising the first session of the new Soviet parliament, he said that the Supreme Soviet was daily becoming more mature and solid in its decisions. At the same time he said that the Soviet parliamentarians were only beginning to master the habits of democracy, political culture and democratic forms of behaviour and dialogue. For every deputy, for every leader and for every rank-and-file worker the political reform and perestroika are a very complex process, he said.

Lukyanov expressed the opinion that the chief problem in the pursuit of perestroika would be that of controlling the implementation of decisions adopted both in the centre and locally. Implementation of these decisions, Lukyanov went on to say, will be largely assisted by renovation of cadres to be achieved during the coming local and republican elections. This will, without a doubt be a second crucial stage in the political reform in the USSR.

The first deputy president dwelt on the activity of the Inter-Regional Deputy Group. He stressed the importance of alternative opinions in working out solutions, saying that without this normal work of the Supreme Soviet would be simply inconceivable, and that everything done in this direction had to be supported. At the same time he also pointed to the need for concerted work.

We need to work together, seeking new solutions and approaches from different positions, Lukyanov continued. It is of exceptional importance not to waste our energies but to consolidate society to the maximum for solving the tasks of restructuring. In his opinion the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet and the soviets in general must be a force for such consolidation in the first place. That is why the more any group, including the regional one, would work for consolidation, for joint solutions to problems, the better it would be. Pluralism and dialogue are indispensable for solving the tasks of restructuring, said Lukyanov, expressing the opinion that a huge majority of deputies held this position.

Comparison of Maslyukov Supreme Soviet Speech
PM0708113989

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 6 August publishes in its First Edition on pages 1 and 3 a version of the speech delivered by Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR State Planning Committee chairman, at the 3 August session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow. The PRAVDA report, entitled "On New Approaches and Parameters of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1990; Yu.D. Maslyukov's Speech at USSR Supreme Soviet Session," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow Television Service Russian version published in the 4 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 38, second column, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph one, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...commissions and committees.

The USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Finances, and the other central economic organs are now completing work on the draft plan and state budget. Not everything is proceeding smoothly for us and to be frank much is still not coming out as we would like, although we are seeking to elaborate what are active and constructive proposals under the conditions which have taken shape.

I can say... (providing alternative passage)

Paragraph two, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...already taken shape. I would like to talk about them right now, but this topic and this work are so complex that we will of course have to take them to their logical conclusion with the aid of the entire corps of USSR people's deputies. First of all... (adding additional sentence)

Page 39, first column, paragraph one, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...very near future. Those are the main, large-scale, targeted functions of the state plan for 1990 and also of the plans of the republics, oblasts, and enterprises. We are convinced that the simultaneous implementation of these aims requires extraordinary decisions. It is in... (adding additional sentence)

Paragraph three, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...economy to have production investment reductions declining in absolute terms.

Another exceptional measure... (providing alternative wording)

Second column, paragraph three, third sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...of labor collectives and no rigid temporal framework can be set for this process. A great deal of... (providing alternative wording)

Same paragraph, fourth sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...various industries or union republics as a result... (subbing "republics" for "republicans")

Paragraph five, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...we cannot let slip from the hands of state centralized management all the threads... (subbing "let slip from the hands of state centralized management" for "let go");

Page 40, first column, paragraph one, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the internal market. Its solution must be approached simultaneously from two directions: First, through the state regulation of the economically unjustified growth of the incomes of individual strata of the population and, second, through the intensive buildup of the production of consumer goods and paid services and the accelerated development of the material basis of the sociocultural sphere. I must stress... (adding additional passage)

Paragraph four, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...whole complementary spectrum. This question is a difficult one. As I have already said, an extremely rapid growth in the production of consumer goods, especially of nonfood goods, is envisaged, and the whole people must be raised to resolve this task.

To increase the... (adding additional passage)

Second column, paragraph two, fourth sentence reads in PRAVDA: Furniture output should rise by 1.250 million rubles and the... (subbing "million" for "billion")

Page 41, first column, last paragraph, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the Supreme Soviet and this should be a truly tangible measure in our overall work on the social reorientation of the entire economy. We can already trace this process at the level of macroeconomic proportions where a drastic change in the structure of national income in favor of resources for the population's consumption and construction in the nonproduction sphere is beginning to proceed as never before. This process is... (adding additional passage)

Second column, paragraph one, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the background of very inert processes on... (clearing queried word)

Same paragraph, same sentence, final sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...unprecedented structural change. For instance, in the past 3-4 five-year plans for all the other quite large structural changes this proportion has changed by no more than 2-3 percent in a 5-year period.

Many people's deputies... (adding additional sentence)

Paragraph two, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...most important ratio. This is a... (omitting sentence)

Paragraph three, only sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...billion, as against 16.8 percent, or 65 billion in the last 5-year plan period.

The intensification of the economy's social orientation is also expressed in the further priority development of industry's Group "B." In 1990, the growth rates for Group "B" will outstrip the growth rates for Group "A" by a factor of 11 and the most important thing is that this outstripping should be confirmed by natural yardsticks and not by cost yardsticks through an increase in prices.

Changes continue to... (adding additional words, passage)

Paragraph four, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...28 percent as against 23.5 percent in 1988 and 25.1 percent under the 1989 plan. (adding additional figures and subbing "25.1 percent" for "25 percent")

Last paragraph, sixth sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the length of antenatal leave for working... (subbing "antenatal" for "maternity")

Page 42, first column, third paragraph, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: A total of 383.6 million square meters... (subbing "383.6" for "384")

Same paragraph, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...of housing was 17.5 million square meters... (subbing "17.5" for "almost 18")

Fourth paragraph, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...per capita from 14.6 square meters in 1985 to 16.1 square meters by the... (adding "in 1985")

Last paragraph, ninth sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...in foreign debt. This is the result of many difficulties and shortcomings in the seconomy. It must be... (adding sentence)

Same paragraph, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...of unresolved problems.

One major problem... (omitting sentence)

Second column, paragraph one, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...imports from the socialist countries are limited... (confirming word "socialist")

Paragraph two, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...by Soviet industry.

It must be said that in working out various options for the plan for 1990 as a whole we did indeed proceed to a considerable extent from various options of the export-import plan. I want to report to you, comrades, that it is precisely here that there is now the largest number of unresolved problems and it is because of this that we have still not submitted the plan to the government, although the deadline has already passed.

At the forthcoming September session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, you, comrade deputies, will be given a detailed report of the decisions which we will take for you to adopt within the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1990.

There is a difficult and, I would say, militant economic year ahead. The destiny of perestroyka will depend to a decisive extent on how the country's economy develops. Under these conditions the democratization of the management of the national economy should be accompanied by an increase in the responsibility of workers at all levels of the economic system, by the consolidation of labor, planning, and technological discipline, of supplies discipline, in general, of discipline in the broadest sense. It is essential that the appeal of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies to the soviets of people's deputies, public organizations and movements, and labor collectives "to launch everywhere a nationwide campaign of struggle against losses and thriftlessness and for the consolidation of labor and executive discipline" should be implemented in full. The task is to ensure that the political activeness which has now gripped all strata of the population from team to USSR Supreme Soviet should finally be directed purposefully toward normalizing the economy.

We took as... (providing alternative passage)

Paragraph four, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...of its forms.

Today at enterprise level this is directly linked with the development of progressive forms of economic accountability. There is some progress here. Thus, while in 1988 about 1,000 industrial enterprises were working on the second form of economic accountability, as of 1 July 1989 the number of these enterprises was 2,748. As of 1 October 1988 there were 60 industrial enterprises working on the lease contract while as of 1 April 1989 there were already 638 and as of 1 July 1989 there were 903 and also over 1,100 enterprises involved in other activities. This progress will grow, and will be promoted by the adoption of a law on the lease. This is particularly important for the expansion of lease relations in agriculture.

As the lease and cooperative movement develops, the scales of state property will reduce in both absolute and relative terms inasmuch as, for instance, in the transfer of enterprises to a long-term lease and in their purchase by labor collectives, state ownership is transformed into the cooperative or joint form of ownership.

Another aspect of the renewal of state ownership is the further development of... (providing alternative passage)

Page 43, first column, paragraph two, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...work on them.

The new tax... (omitting passage)

Paragraph four, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...to our means.

Second, the development of reform is also connected with the... (providing alternative wording)

Paragraph seven, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: A number of regions are also preparing... (omitting "of Russia and Belorussia")

Second column, paragraph one, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...plan in depth. We think that the success of the matter will largely depend on the level of organization of this work, on the atmosphere of exactingness but constructiveness which we must create together. We are preparing... (providing additional passage)

Same paragraph, fourth sentence reads in PRAVDA: We are involving in this work all sectorial complexes of the USSR Gosplan—social, agroindustrial, machine-building, and others.

Certainly the USSR State Committee for Statistics and also all other central economic organs, ministries, and departments of the USSR must also be... (providing variant wording)

Same paragraph, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...in this work.

I am informing... (omitting passage)

Paragraph three, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...approval a draft state plan for next... (subbing "state" for "economic")

Same paragraph, same sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...of union republics. In our work on the state plan we do not idealize the initial basis, that is the results of this year's economic activity, and we rely on enterprises' proposals for next year, on the draft plans of the union republics and ministries, all gross indicators have been removed from the plan, and, of course, there has been a substantial shift reflecting the mounting pace of the economy's social reorientation.

The connection and impact of the state plan on enterprises, union, republics, and ministries is implemented through the reduced state order and the quotas for centrally distributed very important national economic resources stemming from this order.

And finally in the draft state plan we will reflect... (adding passage)

Page 44, first column, second paragraph, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: ... of its consideration. Prior to this... (omitting passage)

Paragraph three, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...gather your strength since together we will have to look deeply into next year's plan while the USSR Supreme Soviet will have to take extremely responsible state decisions when approving it. (providing alternative passage; PRAVDA version ends at this point)

Supreme Soviet Member on Soviets' Work
PM1907140189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Nikolay Dmitriyevich Pivovarov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management, by A. Mikhaylov, under the rubric "At the USSR Supreme Soviet": "Components of Independence"—date and place not given; first two paragraphs are the IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Nikolay Dmitriyevich Pivovarov is chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management.

He was born in 1931 in Shakhty City, Rostov Oblast. After graduating from miners' industrial school, he worked as a metalworker and then studied at technical college and an institute. From being deputy chief mine engineer he became involved in party work. He was first secretary of a party rayon committee and then headed a city committee, a department, and was second secretary of Rostov CPSU Oblast Committee. Recently he has been chairman of the Rostov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom].

[Mikhaylov] Nikolay Dmitriyevich, I attended your committee's first sessions, but, to be honest, I do not yet clearly understand what its specific job is. The committee members touched on too many highly varied questions in their speeches. The impression was that the deputies had gathered to say what was bothering each of them, and the chairman, if you will forgive me, got quieter and quieter.

[Pivovarov] In such cases a chairman should probably listen more to his colleagues, otherwise committee members will quickly lose the desire to defend their position and views. In the first few sessions we deliberately let all committee members express their views. First, this is needed to let us all get to know each other better. Second, quite an extensive range of priority problems and issues which we will have to resolve together is already being formed from this unconstrained discussion which is not restricted to any subject framework.

The committee comprises 44 people's deputies. An important point is that the committee contains people representing personnel of local soviets of all levels: from settlement and rural soviets to republic soviets. In addition, it contains workers from industry, agriculture,

construction, and health care, scientists, lawyers, economists, and party, soviet, All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, and engineering and technical personnel. In short, the committee's social makeup reflects quite widely the interests of the most varied sectors of our society. As to the committee's main task—it has long been formulated for us by life. The task is to make the soviets full masters on their territories. That is the essence of the political reform begun by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

[Mikhaylov] In the last few years, many party and government resolutions have been adopted on enhancing the role of local soviets, but, unfortunately, that role refuses to be enhanced.

[Pivovarov] The point is that the measures envisaged in these resolutions can be likened with darning a worn-out jacket instead of making a new, modern jacket. We need political reform above all. This has already begun. The recent elections and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies are its very first substantial milestones. But the Congress also showed that political reform should be immediately reinforced by economic reform. Without economic levers the soviets will not become full masters. It is too soon yet to talk about the economic aspect of soviets' power.

The main problem for the soviets, it seems to me, is that their influence in a rayon, city, or oblast only extends as far as the plant or enterprise gate. The supervisor [vakhter] is not allowed any further. How can we make plants take account of the local soviets on whose territory they are located and whose labor and natural resources they utilize? What is needed for local self-management to work? These questions are the most important questions today. To my mind, they should determine the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet committee.

[Mikhaylov] Local soviets are now pinning great hopes on local budget revenue formed on the basis of stable long-term normatives from payments from the profits of enterprises under union, republic, and local jurisdiction. But will this solve all the problems? Will soviets become full masters purely because they are finally able to have at their disposal a more fitting sum of money to maintain the social and municipal service sphere of the region's life?

[Pivovarov] Money cannot solve all problems. But, as is well known, nothing can be done without money. It is thanks to these payments that soviets obtain economic levers of power. They stop playing the degrading role of poor supplicant at the gates of the rich plant. But the most substantive point is that under this practice local organs of power will shape their own budgets themselves. That is, not from top to bottom—as is the case now—but from bottom to top. It is then that the so-called leftover principle of financing the social sphere will be virtually eliminated. The principle of the independence of local budgets will be implemented.

Local soviets can only get richer—and therefore stronger—through industry. Payments from turnover tax, payments for production capital and for labor and natural resources, fines, and other payments could be envisaged as new sources of revenue for local soviets.

[Mikhaylov] Nikolay Dmitriyevich, you have been a party leader for many years—that is, one way or another you have looked at city soviet executive committees or oblistpols as secondary components of local power. Then...

[Pivovarov] I can see what you are driving at. I would not raise the entire problem of relations between party and soviet organs so directly or boil things down to barefaced diktat by the former over the latter. The soviets found themselves in a secondary position not so much because party committees trampled them down as because they themselves—by dint of their beggarly existence and their lack of influence and prestige even in the eyes of economic leaders—were unable to resolve many issues without the help of party committees.

[Mikhaylov] The name of your committee links the work of the soviets with the development of management and self-management. To what extent are they linked?

[Pivovarov] If we want to see local soviets as truly full masters, it should be they who run their own regions. In relation to the center and to the republics, regions are switching to self-management on many socioeconomic issues. So these are all links in a single chain—independence. And without independence there can be no masters.

[Mikhaylov] The committee has been set up. What are its functions?

[Pivovarov] First and foremost, we need to avoid the danger of turning into an executive organ resolving operational tasks and issues. The committee's main role is nonetheless to carry out a comprehensive scientific analysis of the problems linked with implementing the people's sovereignty and socialist self-management and improving the activities of the soviets and the entire system of management organs.

The committee's functions include drawing up proposals to renew legislation on the soviets and the system of territorial self-management organs, and expanding the economic base of that system.

[Mikhaylov] How did the committee members begin work?

[Pivovarov] We set up groups that have already embarked on drawing up proposals for discussing in the committee draft laws such as laws on [voters'] instructions, on the procedure for recalling USSR people's deputies, and on the status of USSR people's deputies. We are also analyzing and generalizing proposals on the procedure for annually renewing the USSR Supreme Soviet. Moreover, we are setting up under the committee

a scientific research council with the participation of the country's leading scholars in the sphere of soviet building, legislation, and the economy. We are thinking about setting up subcommittees on the work of the soviets, on the development of management, and on the development of self-management. We are pinning great hopes on the USSR law "On the General Principles for Local Self-Management and Local Economic Management in the USSR," the draft of which we hope to examine at the current USSR Supreme Soviet session. This law is directly aimed at reviving real sovereignty of the soviets, as the main component of self-management, at local level and at ensuring broad participation by the population in resolving questions of local significance and of comprehensive economic and social development.

[Mikhaylov] I think we have already talked about regional economic accountability.

[Pivovarov] The point is that without regional economic accountability, local soviets will continue to lack any rights or powers. Regional economic accountability will be the fertile soil from which the local soviets will be able to draw their strength, power, and independence. Currently local organs of soviet power have only responsibility for everything, while all power is in the hands of party committees and economic managers. The time has come for executive committees, party committees, and economic leaders to share the responsibility, the authority, and the power. Otherwise all our wishful thinking will come to nothing.

Supreme Soviet Confirmation Hearings Viewed
PM1107103189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[Arkadiy Maslennikov "Journalist's Notes": "Committed"]

[Text] The formation of the government which is now taking place, involving the examination of nominations for future ministers in commissions and at sittings of the Supreme Soviet chambers, is a truly unique experiment not only for our state, which is increasingly based on the rule of law, but also in a certain sense for the world as a whole. In any event, during my long years as a PRAVDA foreign correspondent I have never seen anything like it.

It is not only that during this process the candidates for the supreme state posts are X-rayed by the committed questioning of the deputies. Ultimately it is no more pleasant for the nominees to posts in the Washington administration at the congressional hearings, which the U.S. press aptly calls "grillings." The main distinguishing feature of our "hearings" is that the questions put to the nominees, in tone, content, and sometimes fervent emotionality, are really without parallel in world practice.

All this looks not simply unusual but sometimes even alarming. Some people, including those who write to our paper, ask: Are we not abusing criticism? Are our deputies not inflaming an already sufficiently strained social

climate? Wouldn't it better for us, for instance, to follow the example of the Palace of Westminster or the U.S. Congress and conduct discussions more politely and with greater decorum and spare one another's self-esteem and feelings a little more?

Let me immediately add a proviso here: I wholly support a correct and mutually respectful tone in public discussions. A balanced and measured argument is always more powerful than an emotional outburst, particularly within the walls of a parliament. There can be no doubt that our emerging parliamentary practice will assume forms that are more tranquil, regulated, and civilized when it finally carves its own channel and runs between normal banks.

Nevertheless, I am convinced that the present pitch of the debates in our representative organs is not only historically justified but to some extent even necessary. And there are several reasons for that.

First, there is a great difference between the role and character of the functions performed by ministers and other top officials in our country and in the West. It is quite likely that the personal qualities which, for example, prevented J. Tower from being confirmed as U.S. defense secretary could in some measure have prevented him from being sufficiently consistent and principled in his relations with the military-industrial monopolies and the Pentagon's top officials. His nomination was turned down and U.S. democracy gained another victory. I think, though, that had he been confirmed it would have had little effect on the state of affairs in the U.S. Armed Forces: The mechanism of mutual relations between the arms industry and the branches of the Armed Forces was established quite a long time ago and is so closely monitored by Congress that particular features of the defense secretary's conduct would be of truly scant significance.

The situation in our system is completely different. For all the democratization and perestroika of management methods, decisions by ministry leaders will long continue to have a determining influence on the situation in sectors and spheres of activity under their jurisdiction. That is why the deputies "interrogated" I.S. Belousov with such commitment before confirming him in the post of USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman for the military-industrial complex. They asked about everything—how he intends to work to increase the efficiency of Soviet military hardware while cutting its production costs and what defense enterprises in Arkhangelsk Oblast will do under his leadership to help overcome the lag in the region's agriculture.

Second, the sharply critical mood of the debates in our country's supreme legislative organs and the predominance in them of exactingness over what is customarily called constructive proposals are indissolubly linked with the acute shortage of sufficiently detailed and

reliable information. Our people were starved of information for too long to enable all 2,250 of their elected deputies to discuss equally capably and knowledgeably all of society's ailments, which, as a rule, are extremely complex and neglected.

One can only hope that as the structure of the country's supreme legislative organs presently being created is developed, so deputies will have a real opportunity not only to receive but also to process the information that they need, which will serve as a basis for elaborating constructive programs. I think that everyone has noticed that in the speeches of the really well informed people—eminent economists, experienced economic managers, lawyers, and others—the constructive element, even at this stage of the supreme legislative organs' work, at least balances out and sometimes prevails over pure criticism.

One final point. The agitated, demanding, and often impatient tone of many deputies' speeches is due to our chronic ailment—the discrepancy between word and deed. People's deputies brought to the Kremlin their voters' pain and anxiety and their fervent and utterly justified wish that perestroika proceed more quickly and bear real fruit in the form of stores filled with goods, good quality housing, cleaner rivers and lakes, and other blessings of life. And they want to be confident that the ministers confirmed by them will possess all the qualities of leaders, first and foremost competence in their allotted sphere, that they will be real pioneers of democratic ventures, and that they will not proceed from the conviction, as has happened before, that their own personal or group interests automatically coincide with the general people's interests.

In subjecting the future government members' personal and professional qualities to a committed and scrupulous analysis, people's deputies are carrying out the instructions of their voters, who at the recent elections opted unambiguously for the acceleration of the democratic renewal of our society and for perestroika.

'Top Priority' Views Supreme Soviet Session

LD0508163989 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 4 Aug 89

["Top Priority" program presented by Vladimir Posner with Professor Radomir Bogdanov and Professor Sergey Plekhanov]

[Excerpts] [Posner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. This is Vladimir Posner presenting "Top Priority." [passage omitted] We can express our own opinion of how we feel about this first session of the Supreme Soviet, what it accomplished, what it did not perhaps accomplish, whether it leaves room for optimism. What are your feelings initially? Who'd like to start the ball rolling? Professor Bogdanov.

[Bogdanov] To be honest, I have very mixed feelings about this session. Optimistic feelings of course, and I believe that it was a historic event because it has changed our society to such an extent, politicized our society to such an extent that I hope there is no way out. The point of no return was crossed, that's my opinion. At the same time, what worries me [is a] kind of polarization which started within the Supreme Soviet and I mean the organization this inter what....

[Plekhanov, interrupting]...regional.

[Bogdanov]...Interregional Group, which really worries me. And if I'm quite honest with you, my colleagues and with our listeners over there, I believe that this is the beginning of this kind of a fight for power, for power from these people. Whatever they say about their benign designs and things like that I don't trust them and that worries me. And this is not a time in such a situation to try to bring out the so-called alternative decisions, alternative solutions, and this is [a] little bit, bit strange. And I believe there is a logic in it, there is a logic in it. After the strikes, known to our listeners, this is quite natural that you have different political polarization in society. And this, the appearance of that group, this is the result of that, of that polarization. My problem is to which side, to which their action that will take all (?the fuss). In any case I believe the Supreme Soviet has so many things to [word indistinct], I mean in the positive sense. They don't, they should not even dare to spend their, to waste their time on these pretty things, who is right who is wrong. All this...

[Posner, interrupting] Professor Plekhanov, are you also worried by this seeming lack of unity, let's put it that way. Do you think it's a reason for concern or do you see it as a kind of normal development as in any democratic parliament, you have your leftist groups and your rightist groups and your centrist groups. How do you feel about this?

[Plekhanov] Well I'm less worried than Dr Bogdanov, but I'm a little bit worried. In the first place because when factionalism starts in a parliamentary body, in any political body, there is always the danger that it will go too far and that it will obstruct the business of policymaking and leading the country. This is a body which has been endowed with the supreme political power. Whether it will live up to this endowment we will see. I think that it is natural, I agree with you, that this is a natural thing, a natural development. It had to happen, the formation of a group consisting of the people who share a more radical view of what must be done to help perestroika, than the views shared by the majority of the deputies in the Supreme Soviet. Such a formation is necessary and I think it is connected with the strikes, and it is connected with the growing impatience on the part of a majority of the citizens of this country that somebody, some forces, are obstructing the movement ahead, are obstructing the process of change

and it is necessary that that frustration leads to the consolidation of the forces in the political body which are trying to be more forceful in support of the reform, and leading the reforms.

[Posner] Let me take you back, you want to say something Professor Bogdanov please.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, I want to say something. What is your opinion Vladimir about that, what do you feel about that?

[Posner] [Passage omitted] It's a very interesting process and I frankly am not much concerned with this, this group of people. Some of them clearly are aiming for power. I would suspect for instance that Mr Yeltsin is playing the power game. He's doing a very good job of playing that game. But I feel that this session of the Supreme Soviet has somewhat stolen the thunder of this regional very liberal group because look at the, the bottom line is what kind of legislature have they adopted and you have to say it is fine, progressive, radically liberal legislature.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, I think that this group has a problem. I mean they began thinking, some of the leaders of that group began thinking, of themselves as a group long before the parliament started working, even before the Congress of People's Deputies, the biggest, the the bigger body, started working. And they began behaving as a group and they began kind of alienating a lot of people who are in support of progressive change, who would like to join these radicals on a lot of specific votes, having the same positions. But by starting consolidating as a group, they put off a lot of people and as a result members of this group, some of them were not able to get into the Supreme Soviet, precisely because they were seen as a minority engaged in a power game. So I would like them to see their own mission in a less factional term, in a broader term since they're already now a fact of life. I hope that they will behave in a less factional and a more constructive way. [passage omitted]

Paper Explains Lack of Supreme Soviet Coverage

PM1107150389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 89 p 1

[Article signed "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Editorial Collegium": "Why We Ourselves Are Not Writing About the Session"]

[Text] Obviously readers have already noticed that in covering the work of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is not publishing its own articles and reports, as happened during the congress, but is using only official TASS information. We were compelled to take this measure. The fact is that no KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent was accredited to the session or received Kremlin passes.

However, the editorial office did everything within its power to supply readers with comprehensive and full information on the session's work. The list of correspondents for accreditation and for the issue of passes was submitted in good time to the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, and Yu.A. Korolev and V.I. Kulikov, senior officials of the secretariat, informed the editorial office that all the passes would be issued in time. But when the editorial office again approached the secretariat the day before the session started, it received the following answer: There are and will be no passes for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents. It turns out that the USSR KGB's permission is also needed and this, in turn, is given only after a personal and, so it turns out, lengthy "check" on each correspondent....

This was the first time we heard about this new requirement. The KGB, which we approached right away, could not help us and refrained from official comment. And we can only guess: Before admitting a correspondent from a Soviet central newspaper to the Kremlin, does it really take several weeks to check his trustworthiness? If so, then isn't it surprising that these same correspondents were admitted to the Congress of People's Deputies a month ago? Was this an oversight? Is it not doubly surprising that, for example, anyone who so desires and even, horror of horrors, a foreigner can get into the visitors' gallery in the British Parliament without any checks at all?

But even if this "procedure" does exist for the present, it does little to explain the situation with regard to passes. Why should the editorial office have to bother about whether the appropriate KGB permission has been drawn up or not? Clearly, those who accredit journalists to the Supreme Soviet should be responsible for this. By the way, it would be good not only to issue passes to journalists, but also to give them at least minimum working conditions. During the Congress, for example, we literally had to beg for stenographic records of the sittings....

Now the situation has reached the point of absurdity. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA journalists have been totally deprived of the chance to get into the session and readers of the chance to get information which interests them. And if you take into account the fact that the newspaper's print run is more than 18 million, then what is the political significance of this fact? And what about glasnost?

Abkhazian Internal Troops 'in Full Control'

PM0808083289 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 8 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Semenyaka report: "Reason Must Conquer"]

[Text] Subunits of the internal troops and militia staffers are in full control of the situation in the settlements of Abkhaziya. Over the weekend 57 firearms were confiscated from the local population, including 9 rifles. In the night of 6-7 August 166 people and 111 motor vehicles were detained for violating travel rules under the terms of the special regime.

At the same time the collectives of many enterprises are continuing their strike. In the village of Ilori in Ochamchirskiy Rayon 21 people have declared a hunger strike. The situation in the city of Tkvarcheli has become more complex.

As a result of the population's lack of reliable information or its tardiness, rumors of a danger threatening people are spreading through the settlements. The inhabitants of a number of rayons have therefore resorted to forming self-defense detachments.

In these conditions commanding officers, political workers, and party and Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] activists of subunits of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] internal troops are conducting publicity work among the local population. Thus representatives of the Kharkov USSR MVD Higher Military School of Rear Services met with the inhabitants of the city of Gagry, while representatives of the USSR MVD Higher Political School named for the 60th Anniversary of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol went to Ochamchirskiy Rayon.

Rail Services Resume Between Armenia, Azerbaijan
*NC0808110889 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 6 Aug 89*

[Text] There had been stoppages lately in train service along the Akstafa-Idzhevan line, and the Julfa-Norashen sector was (?partially) blockaded. The (?Sadakh) [word indistinct] station was operating normally.

The ARMENPRES correspondent reports that thanks to the measures adopted, train movement on all tracks leading into the republic are being restored in line with train service schedules.

Azerbaijan Party Meeting Discusses Economic Plan
*NC0208090889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 31 Jul 89*

[Text] A meeting was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on 31 July on questions concerning the drawing up of the republic's economic plan. It was noted that significant work has been carried out under the guidance of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on the drawing up of the draft plan.

Various land economy models, which have been proposed by groups of scientists and economic and planning experts as well as by interested individuals, have been studied during the course of the work that has been carried out and [words indistinct].

The republic's draft economic plan will be drawn up on the basis of these models during the meeting that will be held by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Social Economy Commission in the near future. Meanwhile, a decision was adopted to set up a press

group affiliated to the social economy commission when the draft plan is drawn up with a view to maintaining links with the representatives of mass media organs.

Gasán Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

Strikes Continue in Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast
*NC0408193589 Yerevan Domestic Service
in Armenian 1600 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[Text] The strike in the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has entered its 4th month, yet it is still difficult to predict when the labor activity in Stepanakert will return to its normal course. The Armenian population of the NKAO considers the procrastination in politically solving the NKAO problem to be the reason for the continuing strikes.

At the same time, the people also clearly realize that the strikes are causing substantial damage to the economic well-being of the oblast. Around R40 million worth of industrial goods (?in the trade sector) have not been produced; more than R5 million worth of capital construction has not taken place; thousands of square meters of residential area and schools and kindergartens with the capacity for hundreds have not been commissioned. The material situation of the workers has deteriorated. The assistance provided by the Amaras charity organization for needy families is naturally insufficient to meet the material requirements of the needy. Though labor activity in the agricultural sector has not come to a complete halt, the existing tension in and around the oblast along with this year's unfavorable climatic conditions are already having their effects on agricultural output. The Artsakh [NKAO] people believe that the quick solution they have raised to the problem is the only way out of the existing situation. Despite the prevailing tension, the special situation is generally being supervised by units of the USSR Interior Ministry and by local law enforcement bodies.

Deputy Comments on Nagorno-Karabakh Commission
*NC0708110889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] [Excerpts] As reported by the press, Deputy (Boris Alenev), deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, read a report on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] during the 3 August USSR Supreme Soviet session.

In view of the great importance attached to the commission's work in Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], an AZERINFORM correspondent has asked Elmira Kafarova, USSR People's deputy and chairwoman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to comment in that regard. Kafarova said:

We waited to hear about the material and results from the USSR Supreme Soviet commission's visit to NKAO with great curiosity and even uneasiness. (Boris Alenev) first noted that all the required conditions were created for the commission by the Azerbaijanis and Armenians in NKAO. The commission members had an opportunity to meet with the oblast's people and refugees, that is, with Armenians and Azerbaijanis, in the work collectives and residential areas.

He said: In general, the situation has entered a very dangerous stage. The differences and unfriendliness between the two sides have become characteristic. Concrete measures need to be taken now. The commission will work in that direction and establish the way of reorganizing relations. However, the commission has urged the two sides not to [word indistinct], create additional problems, and use pressure.

The republic's leaders have serious duties to fulfill in reorganizing relations. First, they must (?set an example themselves). The intellectuals, men of letters, scholars, and fine arts officials must not remain uninvolved. Disrespecting history and defiling historic monuments is not appropriate behavior.

The commission called on the Azerbaijanis and Armenians to [word indistinct]. Act with good will and protect your children and (?parents). Both the Bible and the Koran say that the world was first destroyed as a result of slander. It can be destroyed for a second time by fire and flame. Do not allow this. We are capable of preventing this.

(Boris Alenev) concluded his report by a [word indistinct] poem. Elmira Kafarova said:

The general tone of his report was peaceful and cautious. He did not [words indistinct]. Wisdom and sound thinking must prevail. Bloodshed must not be allowed to recur. [passage indistinct] The forms of civil administration must be reinstated. A decision was adopted to maintain the special administration committee, but an effort will be made to broaden the people's citizenship rights.

Meanwhile, mass media and propaganda organs were asked to refrain from reports which might cause interethnic discord and from straining relations.

R. Nishanov proposed that a debate not be held. All the participants agreed. The meeting then debated the other items on its agenda.

13 Jul Nagorno-Karabakh Situation Outlined
NC1507160689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1600 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] An extremely tense situation continues to prevail in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The military units and servicemen of the oblast's internal affairs bodies are taking every measure to normalize the situation. According to reports, the Azerbaijanis

have set fire (?to a house) near the Armenian church of Shushi. There was an exchange of gunfire at (Dashdova), (Gostnaya) and (Hrabod) villages of Askeran rayon. Military engineers patrol the roads to prevent barricades from being set up. Despite that [words indistinct] 200 to 300 or more people gather there. The local militia does not [word indistinct] them [word indistinct]. Orudzeva, the justice minister of Azerbaijan, is there as well.

A young Armenian man was killed between the villages of (Kichyan) and (Ashkent) of Mardakertskiy rayon. TASS's previous report that two Azerbaijanis were killed (?is making itself felt), despite the fact that it has not been (clarified) by whom and under what circumstances.

The television relay station located in Shushi was (?disconnected) yesterday evening (?cutting the programs relayed from Yerevan to Stepanakert).

Arkadi Ivanovich Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administration Committee of NKAO, arrived in Stepanakert on 12 July. The KHORHRDAYIN newspaper did not appear on 13 July because of a strike at the local printing press.

A new serious trial faces us—the Artsakh people—Stepan Dadayan, director of the Ideological Department of the NKAO Special Administration committee party apparatus, said to an ARMENPRES reporter. We must provide extensive explanations to the people to prevent them from succumbing to all sorts of provocations that at present have not been possible to curb. The people's cohesive tension [word indistinct] because of the postponement of the decision to be passed on NKAO. TASS's extremely careless reportage is also (?contributing) to the complication of the situation. The NKAO workers have realized and are realizing that the solution to the NKAO problem could be achieved on a democratic basis alone. Those who consider this problem to be nonexistent and who evade parliamentary discussion have chosen another path, the path of disrupting the productive work of the Nationalities Commission set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet from taking place in a calm atmosphere. This commission has been set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet [word indistinct]. It [word indistinct] the NKAO's unification with Soviet Armenia [word indistinct] majority of the oblast [word indistinct]. I am sure that the people of Artsakh will emerge with pride from the president trial as well, because they have always been optimists; justice must (?triumph).

Background of Nagorno-Karabakh Situation Viewed
NC0807093289 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 7 Jul 89

[From the "Our Calendar" program—report by journalist Varujan Voskanyan]

[Excerpts] Certain dates inspire joyous memories and instill pride, while remembrance of other dates upsets a man's inner world. For the Armenian people, 24 April

1915 is such an agonizing date. On that date 1.5 million Armenians of western Armenia fell victims to the Turkish sword. Another unfortunate date for the Armenians, in particular for those of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], is 7 July 1923. On that date, through Stalin's machinations, the status of the autonomous oblast within the Azerbaijani state structure was imposed on Artsakh [NKAO] without taking the people's will into consideration. [passage omitted]

Later, during the years of the stagnating quagmire, it almost seemed that the Armenian Artsakh would finally collapse. However, the dawn of restructuring soon set in. But apparently it was still too soon for the indigenous NKAO people to clutch the idea which calls for the deepening of democracy and openness. The Artsakh people, in order to obtain their just rights and liberate themselves from the claws of despotism of false Azerbaijani internationalism and in order to develop their own culture and economy as one of the peoples of the Soviet Union, waged a constitutional struggle and by the decision in February 1988 demanded the historical mistake be corrected. That is, the Artsakh people asked that the NKAO secede from Azerbaijan and be unified with motherland Armenia. To this demand and to the Artsakh people's appeal to Gorbachev and to the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijanis replied with the genocide of Sumgait. A new wave of Armenian refugees started to flow from Azerbaijan. More than 200,000 Armenians were forced to become refugees. The Soviet mass media first kept a criminal silence and then branded the NKAO people's just struggle and the Armenian people's movement for restructuring as extremist, provocative, and nationalistic. However, the NKAO and Armenian deputies told the Soviet people and the world at the podium of the first congress of people's deputies that the Artsakh Armenians, who have been on strike since 3 May, are deprived of their inalienable right to live independently and that economic development, the introduction of the special administration committee, and the imposition of the curfew cannot restore living conditions in NKAO. Today on 7 July the people of Artsakh live with expectations and dream about their own future, about that future when the NKAO through the law of self-determination can express its will for the reunification with the motherland and thus win a triumph for justice.

Women Appeal for Calm in Nagorno-Karabakh
NC1507174189 *Baku Domestic Service in Armenian*
0353 GMT 15 Jul 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers have published an appeal by the republic's women and mothers to the women and mothers of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The appeal says that in these (?critical days) the NKAO situation is becoming more and more tense. Interethnic relations have become acute and a [word indistinct] has been created. The [words indistinct] of restructuring and

the extremists through (?maximal) terror, [word indistinct] and provocative actions aimed at [word indistinct] interethnic discord and [word indistinct] instigate one people against the other. We call on you, dear Azerbaijani sisters and Armenian mothers, to heed the appeal of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in which [words indistinct] to display the outmost responsibility toward the present and future [words indistinct] the dangerous developments in interethnic relations. By grasping the entailed dangers lurking behind every family and each person, (?let us do our utmost) to normalize the situation in NKAO. Thousands upon thousands of women in our republic appeal to [word indistinct] motherly and womanly [word indistinct] to call for reason and for the [word indistinct] of interethnic incidents.

Aging of Nagorno-Karabakh Population Noted
NC0307094889 *Yerevan International Service*
in Armenian 1530 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Over the last 25 years, the population of Hadrut rayon in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has fallen by one-third. As a result, retirees substantially outnumber young people. The number of infants can almost be counted on one's fingers. Last year the oblast's social department received no medical pamphlets on (?pregnancy) and childbirth. Not only the Hadrut villages, but other villages of Artsakh [NKAO] are aging.

At present, nearly 1,900 village houses in NKAO are unoccupied. This is the result of the gross economic errors and centralization over the past years. The excessive concentration of production into larger enterprises undermined the independent economies of the small villages.

Azerbaijan's Socioeconomic Development Discussed
NC0708112489 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri* 1600
GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] [Excerpts] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Statistics Committee has summed up the Azerbaijan SSR's socioeconomic development from January to June 1989. The information the committee has released says:

The process of restructuring the economy and channeling it toward social needs continued in this period. The production of consumer goods doubled, and the volume of retail goods sold and subsidies paid to the people increased.

However, the pace of scientific and technical development has not been sufficient. The republic's financial situation and the money circulation situation remained serious. The increase in wages exceeded work output by only a small margin. [passage indistinct] A serious economic situation prevailed in a number of the republic's cities.

Compared with the same period in 1988, the republic's national income increased by R57,000,000. A total of R6,078,000,000 worth of industrial products were manufactured. This figure is higher than that established during the same period in 1988. The number of organizations and establishments which worked at a loss has decreased. [word indistinct] has also decreased significantly.

The republic's population was 7,075,000 on 1 July 1989. Employment opportunities exceeded 3,900,000; this figure is more than 55 percent of the population. Compared with the same period in 1988, the biweekly wages paid to the workers and civil servants increased from 169 to 174 rubles. The wages paid to the collective farm workers increased from 115 to 124 rubles. A total of 6,400 new houses [words indistinct] were put into service. This figure is less than that established during the same period in 1988.

Nearly 100,000 students attended secondary schools during the 1988-1989 school year. Schools of higher education prepared 20,000 experts and secondary specialized education schools prepared another 23,000.

Meanwhile, foreign economic activity increased as well. [passage indistinct]

Arutyunyan Speaks at Russian Federation Meeting
NC0508191589 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Aug 89

["A Friend's Shoulder Is a Formidable Prop"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic at a meeting on 29 July discussed the course of the construction of facilities and the fulfillment of the restoration projects in the earthquake-stricken areas of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, opened the meeting. V.S. Markaryants, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, delivered a report. He pointed out that much has been done in Armenia in order to launch a broader initiative for the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake. The design bureaus have basically completed evaluating the plots; identifying the micro-seismological regions; distributing social, industrial, and transportation installations; and they have drawn up 120 master plans for new settlement areas. Construction of engineering, maintenance, and communications objects has commenced. The structures of construction organizations have been virtually completed.

However, in the first half of 1989 the ministries and departments of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic exhibited serious shortcomings in the construction of social projects; a mere 45 percent of the yearly plan for residential area has been commissioned. Construction of schools and preschool is proceeding slowly. Reconstruction is seriously behind in Leninakan.

The construction of social projects in the villages is progressing slowly, mainly because the draft and feasibility studies are not comprehensive and because of the lack of human resources and technology. According to the 17 July givens, 19,290 persons were working in construction sub-units; that is 43.3 percent of the 44,400 average calculated by the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs. V.S. Markaryants indicated that the indigenous population constituted nearly 50 percent of those working.

Procurement is particularly worse as regards iron bars, cement steel pipes, sheet-iron and timber.

It was pointed out that datelines for transportation of the freight being dispatched to Armenia on rails are being deferred. The situation became acute in July. The rail cars from Russia's central regions take almost 40 days to arrive at their destination, resulting in massive labor inactivity at the construction sites.

V.S. Markaryants assessed in detail the construction and restoration work in the disaster zone and referred to those resources which must be utilized.

Ministers and deputy chairmen of the state Agro-industrial Committee and State Planning Committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic spoke on issues under consideration.

S. G. Arutyunyan, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, also spoke at the meeting. He said:

First, I would like to thank sincerely all the peoples of Russia and the government of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic for the enormous help they gave to Armenia in reviving the cities and villages damaged by the harsh natural disaster.

In this most grave moment the Armenian people again felt the power of our unshakable brotherhood. The pain and cares of Armenia have become the pain and cares of all Soviets.

Russia assumed the main burden for the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake. More than 60 percent of the projected volume of work in the disaster area falls on her.

It is obvious that we must work under extraordinary and extreme conditions. The situation in the republic remains complex and tense. Tens of thousands died and hundreds of thousands were ruined. Many thousands of families were tossed to the different corners of our country by the tempest. More than 500 thousand people remained homeless. There are more than 200 thousand refugees from Azerbaijan. Overall, nearly 750 thousand people have been dislocated from normal life. To that is added the complex political situation arising from the

continued non-solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] problem. All this has created an extraordinary, or rather a soul-shattering situation in the republic.

I think it is obvious to all that the people's confidence in the future could only be won first of all by rekindling the warmth of family hearths. Therefore, the acceleration of construction and restoration in the disaster zone is of outmost sociopolitical importance.

I would like to stress that many union republics, ministries, and departments realize this and share with us the acuteness of the situation. Among them are a number of oblasts of the Russian federation.

However, state of reconstruction in the cities, rayon centers, and villages as a whole cannot but cause serious concern. The results of the first half of the year indicate most starkly that the plans to commission houses before winter are under the threat of failure.

Next, S.G. Arutyunyan dwelled in detail on the shortcomings in organizing the construction work and emphasized those problems which need urgent solutions.

At present, a particularly complex and tense situation has emerged in Leninakan where the construction is basically undertaken by the organizations of the Russian federation. So far not a single square meter of habitable space nor a single house has been commissioned. One must confess sincerely that judging by results, the Russian federation at present remains behind the other union republics.

An extremely complex situation has arisen in the rayons of Spitakskiy, Gugarskiy, and Stepanavanskiy where the organizations of a number Russian federation oblasts have exhibited serious shortcomings in the restoration of villages.

Finally, S.G. Arutyunyan stressed that speedy and radical measures are needed in order to engender a sharp turnaround in the construction and restoration work.

The Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic instructed the ministries, departments, the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics, the executive committees of krais and of autonomous oblasts to undertake speedy measures to overcome the shortcomings allowed during the first half of the year and to fulfill the yearly plans.

A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, also spoke at the meeting.

Armenia's Arutyunyan Receives Academician
*NC2607131389 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 25 Jul 89*

[Text] Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, yesterday received Abel Aganbegyan, academician and head of the Economic Institute Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who is in Yerevan in connection with an economic seminar on problems in creating a free enterprise zone in Armenia.

The first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee highly evaluated the multisided scientific, public, and political activity of academician Aganbegyan, whose name is closely connected with the party's socioeconomic plans and the first steps in this direction [words indistinct].

Academician Aganbegyan briefed the host about the new (?plans) of the Soviet economists (?and about the fundamental processes taking place during the course of restructuring Soviet society) [words indistinct]. He added that a group of Moscow and Armenian scientists are working to draw up a free economic zone structure in Armenia by taking into consideration the conditions in Armenia and in such way that it would closely integrate and [word indistinct] with the characteristics of the national economy when republican and regional economic accountability is introduced.

On the same day Aganbegyan met at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee with the republic's party and economic aktiv. An interesting conversation took place on the course of the restructuring and economic reform in the country and on the prospects for socioeconomic development of the Armenian republic.

Arutyunyan Meets With U.S.-Armenian Delegation
*NC0108184389 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 31 Jul 89*

[Text] Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, received a group of representatives of the Armenian Assembly of the Armenian community of the United States, among whom were Jirayr Arutyunyan, president of the board of the assembly; and directors Sarkis Agopyan, (Nilton Gelyan), and Aram Galustyan. They are in Armenia at the invitation of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Armenians Abroad.

During the talks, Arutyunyan briefed the visitors about the extensive work undertaken to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake. He added that alongside the Armenian people the brotherly Soviet delegates and foreign experts are participating in this effort.

Jirayr Arutyunyan spoke about the projects of the organization he heads for the building of a construction materials enterprise in Leninakan. At present, infrastructural work is going on and the actual construction of the enterprise will start in September.

Suren Arutyunyan highly assessed the patriotic activity of the Armenians of the United States who, together with the entire American public, actively participated in providing assistance to Armenia.

Armenian Ecological Administration Expands Scope
NC0408220189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1600 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Excerpt] The deplorable condition of the environment is the most serious problem disturbing the people at present. There are many problems waiting for a solution. The serious errors committed over the years in developing productive forces and (in their siting) have had catastrophic results. Now the republic has taken the path of ecological recovery by closing or revamping the enterprises harmful to man and the environment to provide the best conditions for the people's health, [word indistinct], labor, and recreation. The starting premise is that environmental policy should be based on a precise prospective economic approach and planning. This is the aim pursued by the state ecological survey administration of the republic's state committee for environmental protection. The administration has the responsibility to control the draft plans for all types of industrial and economic installations being built in the republic's territory. All draft plans must first be subjected to an ecological survey; each plan must include a supplementary environmental protection plan which must stipulate every necessary measure so that the environment will be minimally damaged. [passage omitted]

Armenians 'Restless' Over Lost Territories
NC0208182389 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] From 1 August 1914 to 29 November 1920, the lacerated, butchered, starving and [word indistinct] Armenian people passed through the flames of hell and walked the bitter road of Calvary. Their home destroyed, they dispersed all over the world. That was the consequence of the ill-fated shot fired at Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 on the fate of the Armenian people. However, even today the Armenians are restless because they know that their own Nakhichevan, Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], Akhalkalak, Kars, Ardahan, and Sarikamis have been wrested away from them by both foes and friends; and the blood shed in Sumgait still simmers. If hundreds of thousands of Armenians fleeing from the savagery of neighboring Azerbaijan have remained landless and homeless it is again the echo of the ill-fated shot at Sarajevo. Had the world looked with compassion towards the Armenian

people, it would now have been the full legal owner of its own territory; it would have been great and powerful and its voice would have been heard in all the parliaments of the world.

Arutyunyan Visits Earthquake Areas 6-8 Jul
NC0907084689 Yerevan Domestic Service
in Armenian 0425 GMT 9 Jul 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Comrade Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, visited the earthquake disaster area from 6 to 8 July, familiarized himself with the course of the restoration work, spoke with the builders and inhabitants at the construction sites, and gave instructions to the ministries, supervisory boards, and local authorities for the practical and speedy solution of difficulties facing the people.

Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers; Oleg Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Oganesyan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and directors of the republican ministries and supervisory boards accompanied Arutyunyan on his visit.

The construction and restoration work is moving strikingly slowly in Leninakan. So far no residential building has been commissioned despite the builders' promise to provide nearly 3,000 families with homes by the end of the third-quarter of the current year. [passage omitted]. A meeting took place at the city's restoration work headquarters. Lazarov, the director of the headquarters and Ambartsumyan, chairman of the city Soviet executive committee, delivered reports. Comrade Arutyunyan then summarized the results of the meeting. [passage omitted]

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee will, on the basis of the results of this visit, discuss a number of problems concerning the acceleration of construction and restoration work and the improvement of consumer services to the [word indistinct] and workers in the disaster area.

Armenia's Lobov Interviewed on Nagorno-Karabakh
NC0807065889 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] The KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN and KOMMUNIST newspapers have published an ARMENPRES interview with Oleg Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

In the interview, Lobov said: Today no one is indifferent about interethnic relations and the nationalities policy. That is understandable in view of the fact that the public has had ambiguous yet often dramatic experience in this sphere. Lenin's nationalities policy is a reliable guideline

in this case. Many things should be solved not only on the basis of law but also on (?moral grounds). Therefore, regarding recognition of the 1915 genocide, I see no reason why all the union republics should not deeply study and know the history of that bloody massacre of the Armenian people. Like all others, I too am distressed by the complex problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. Many documents have been accumulated to support opposing views. I think that here too Lenin's tenets are to a certain extent discarded. The problem encountered an impasse. I would not like to reopen the wounds of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. I am simply proceeding from the truth. Reinstating the local self-administration bodies as well as effecting the real independence of the oblast has become a necessity. The Nagorno-Karabakh people should be given the opportunity to live independently of any union republic.

Armenian Party Official Visits Nagorno-Karabakh
NC0407075789 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Jul 89

[ARMENPRES own correspondent A. Grigoryan report:
"Meeting in Stepanakert"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 3 Jul (ARMENPRES)—Galust Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and people's deputy, has visited Stepanakert and met with members of the special administration committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and representatives of the public of the oblast's capital.

In a short address, Comrade G. Galoyan briefed those present on the Soviet Armenian leadership's position toward the NKAO's problems and his observations about the dynamics of the NKAO problem in light of the decision passed by the first congress of USSR people's deputies. Galoyan underlined in particular that the Karabakh problem, which symbolizes the wishes of the entire Armenian people, can only find a just solution within the framework of further improving our state's democratic principles and constitution. He expressed the hope that the Soviet of Nationalities' commission on nationalities policy and interethnic relations, which will soon visit the autonomous oblast, conducts an in-depth examination of the situation prevailing in the NKAO and provides impartial information to USSR Supreme Soviet.

Speaking about the current ties between the Armenian SSR and the NKAO, Comrade G. Galoyan declared that these ties, whether in the economic, cultural, educational, or other spheres of public life, must be daily enriched by new content. The clear guidelines to achieve the desired objective were defined during the recent session of the republic's supreme soviet. The cardinal problem now is to move beyond words and assurances to concrete actions.

Comrade G. Galoyan replied to the numerous questions of those present, which particularly expressed concern that apparently artificial impediments were being created to obstruct the establishment of fruitful ties between compatriots. In the opinion of many of those present, this was the result of the errors committed by the NKAO special administration committee on the one hand and the irresolute attitude of the Armenian SSR leadership in eliminating such negative phenomena on the other.

At the end of the meeting, Comrade G. Galoyan assured the participants in the meeting that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government do not and cannot have any interest apart from the interests of the Armenian people; there is no alternative.

Yerevan Commandant Denies Troop Reinforcement
NC0108182589 Yerevan KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN
in Armenian 14 Jul 89 p 4

[Statement by the military commandant of the Yerevan City Special District]

[Text] A. Manucharyan, deputy of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, declared during his addresses at the session of Yerevan city soviet on 12 July, and at the rally held on the same day, that additional troops have arrived in Yerevan.

I, as the commandant of the Yerevan City Special District, hereby declare that the number of troops required for safeguarding and maintaining law and order in Yerevan city and in the rayons of the republic has not only not increased over the last 3 months, but has in fact been curtailed on three occasions. I think that at present the situation in Yerevan city is such that it does not warrant the increase of the forces of the special district for special situation operations.

[Signed] Major General N. Pishchev, military commandant of the Yerevan City Special District, 13 July, 1989.

Official Visits Moscow Armenian Organizations
NC1107091489 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] A number of Armenian cultural and social organizations have been formed in Moscow in the past year. Galust Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, held a meeting in Moscow with the representatives of these organizations. After listening to the views of Yeduard Aykazyan, permanent representative of the republic's council of ministers in Moscow, and of the representatives of the informal organizations, Galust Galoyan said that if the activities of these organizations are not coordinated and directed at one major objective, that is, the study of our culture and language and the dissemination of Armenian culture and history, then these organizations will serve no purpose. He added that

Moscow should become a center of Armenian studies through which our culture and history are propagated to other peoples. Mother Armenia will help you in any way it can, the secretary of the central committee said, adding that Armenia can send scientific and cultural workers to Moscow.

Armenians Protest Sumgait Prosecutor Candidacy
NC0407093089 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] The constituent congress of the Union of Soviet Jurists [kchorhrdayin iravabanneri miyutyan himnadir hamakumar] was held in Moscow 22-23 June. Twenty-eight delegates from our republic participated in its deliberations.

Among those nominated during the election of the governing bodies of the congress was the Sumgait prosecutor. That man, who has occupied that post since 1987, naturally is responsible for the Armenian genocide during the Sumgait massacres. The Armenian delegates resolutely protested against his candidacy and demanded that he be denied such a mandate and be removed from the group formed to draw up resolutions. However, this just and principled demand, this request by the representatives of a nation which for the last 1 and 1/2 years has been unable to bring about an appropriate assessment of events in Sumgait and its recognition as genocide under international law, was rejected by a majority of votes. Our delegation walked out of the congress hall in protest.

Referring to that issue in KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN newspaper, (Vladimir Garbikyan), deputy justice minister of Armenia, writes: A feeling of rage and agony [word indistinct]. Our national dignity has been wounded. Why did the delegations of the brotherly republics not understand our sorrow? Before the eyes of the entire world women, children, and the elderly were butchered, raped, and burned in Sumgait for the sole sin of being Armenians. In all corners of the Soviet Union, Sumgait is regarded as a symbol of oppression; that city is known as the center of vandalism. The indifference shown toward our national anguish, the unfriendly atmosphere prevailing, and the failure on the part of the Union of Soviet Jurists to comprehend our national tragedy of the noble and sacred Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] movement has given way to serious reflection.

Armenian Party Discusses Kirovakan Restoration
NC0107093789 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, during its regular session yesterday [29 June] discussed the report of Kirovakan party city committee on the industrial enterprises' restoration of work and production.

The earthquake caused R86.5 million of damages to Kirovakan industrial complex. Three enterprises were completely destroyed and eight workshops and factories were damaged. One quarter of industrial associations was lost. More than 20,000 remain jobless and 14,000 families were left homeless.

The city has been cleared of rubble and needy families and builders have been provided with temporary dwellings as part of the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake. The master plan for the city up to 1995 has been drawn up. The capacity of construction organizations is being upgraded. There are also substantial improvements in the restoration of jobs and reemployment. Despite that, there are also serious derelictions of duty and shortcomings. A decision was made at yesterday's meeting to overcome them and appropriate directives were issued to relevant organizations and supervisory boards.

The bureau also discussed the activities of the women's councils. The meeting discussed women's working conditions, health and recreation, and issues of mother and child care. The bureau instructed the relevant organizations to work out a comprehensive scheme concerning women's life in Armenia.

Medvedev Interviewed on Komsomol Plenum
LD2807230989 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 28 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Petr Orlov report from the 28 July All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee plenum in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] [Orlov] The call for the convening of an All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] congress is being heard more and more frequently here at the Komsomol Central Committee plenum. The questions being put forward for discussion today are at the congress level.

[Unidentified speaker shown addressing the plenum from rostrum] A straightforward assessment of the state of affairs in the Komsomol has been voiced at today's plenum: it is a state of crisis. Today we are seeking together a way out of this state of affairs, primarily....

[Orlov, interrupting] That was a proposal by a group of Moscovites. There are others, more moderate....

[Same unidentified speaker, addressing plenum] The Komsomol must transform itself from a structurally rigid organization into a movement of the young people, of their organizations, alliances, associations, federations, and other flexible structures.

[Orlov] That was a proposal by a group of Moscovites; there are other, more moderate ones arising from the Komsomol Central Committee, but one way or another

the Komsomol no longer has a monopoly on the expression of young people's interests. [repetitive passage as heard] While the preparation of the Komsomol's new statute and programs is underway, the real process of decentralization already has begun. According to a decision of its congress, the Lithuanian Komsomol has left the All-Union Komsomol. Preparations are being made for setting up a single Russian Komsomol organization. The main ideas—the communist principles of the young people's movement and young people's cooperation with the party—remain unchanged, although, as was stated at the plenum today, it is essential to seek new principles here. [video shows Mironenko addressing plenum, then V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, being interviewed in lobby by unidentified correspondent]

[Correspondent] Vadim Andreyevich, what experience today is most important of all for public and political organizations—organizations like the party; the Komsomol, the youth organization; or the trade unions—which currently are passing through a complicated period in their history?

[Medvedev] I believe that all experience is important, irrespective of whether it is positive or negative. One has to draw one's own conclusions from what is positive and what is negative. Negative experience is what took place in the history of our country with the distortion of Marxism-Leninism and socialist values and deviation from them. Conclusions have to be drawn from this, but there is positive experience, too, in certain periods of our country's development. Nor, indeed, must one simply cast aside everything that took place, even during the most difficult years. The economy, science, and education developed in our country. So one has to pay attention to the whole of one's experience, but not just the experience of our own party and our own country—I repeat—but the experience of our socialist countries. Furthermore, I consider the experience of democratic development which has been built up in the world, and not just in the socialist world, but in the non socialist world as well, to be the common property of civilization. These are values common to all of mankind and to the whole world. True, things have to be separated here; some things are relevant to a class based society, while some are of general significance. We have to take up and use those things that are of general significance for mankind, in accordance with the formula which states that communism rests upon mankind's best, most valuable achievements.

[Correspondent] How can the young people's movement now be filled with new socialist content, Vadim Andreyevich?

[Medvedev] I believe that there is only one way here: that of involving the young people's movement as fully as possible in the processes of perestroika—active participation in the political process in the country, in the economic reform, in the development of the spiritual

and ideological sphere—as well as raising the Komsomol's role in everything and insuring that it has its place in accordance with the potentialities and the qualities of young people. Without young people, perestroika is simply impossible because this is not something that can be done in 1 year; it is something that must be carried out over a long period of years, and we have only just begun. In no way will it happen without the young people, but do not take this as the ultimate truth.

[Correspondent] No, in no way.

[Medvedev] These are ideas. What is taking place now is a quest; a general quest is taking place; there is a quest in the party, in the Komsomol. We will reason together and we will find solutions.

[Correspondent] Taking part in the work of the plenum together with Comrade Medvedev was Comrade Razumovskiy. Tomorrow the work will continue.

CPSU Role in Economic Plight Discussed
PM0108155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Party and the Economy"]

[Text] Here is an account of a conversation held a few days ago with Mikhail Fedorovich Podkolzin, secretary of the USSR Ministry of Railways party committee. He had only just returned from the Ministry Collegium hall, which had been the venue for a conference with representatives from all the network's railroads. The conversation which took place was far from easy. People who had arrived from all corners of the country put before the sector's leaders and the ministry party committee the kind of questions which would not have been asked previously.

Why are there, for example, local distortions of the useful Belorussian method for boosting labor productivity through the release of surplus labor? In so doing they are reducing the numbers of switchmen and track inspectors while retaining functionaries in offices. Why is it that, year in and year out, track maintenance staff receive only one-half or one-third of the required quantities of rails, ties, and track clips? When will locomotive reliability become the norm? Engineers and track maintenance men have to answer for train derailments, but what real measures are being undertaken by the sector's leadership and the ministry party committee?

"Our letters and communications with partners and the numerous telephone conferences are no longer taken into account," the party committee secretary admitted. "And this is right! People need real end results from the efforts of management."

The miners' strikes turned the spotlight onto many corners of party work which were thick with cobwebs. Corners which had not yet been touched by the cleaning

broom. For example, when a newspaper reporter asked a city party committee secretary whether the party committee had foreseen these events and prepared itself for them, the answer was: "Nobody even thought that matters would take such a turn...."

Apparently they had hoped that this could be weathered as in past decades, that everything would sort itself out as it did before. But it did not. The miners, having lost faith in the power of their party leaders at local level and of ministry officials in the center, took extreme measures. Measures which were grave for themselves and for the whole country. Measures which, bluntly speaking, were double-edged for everyone, including those who disrupted the labor pace. Suffice it to say that, as a result of mass failures to report for work, worktime losses during the first half-year exceeded 2 million man-days and resulted in major output shortfalls.

The economic and social situation in the country is not easy now. For the first time in many years, negative "growth" figures appeared in the half-yearly report by the USSR State Committee for Statistics. The quantity of homes and apartments commissioned was less than planned. We failed to maintain the fast pace of economic development achieved during the first years of perestroika. As a rule, machine builders end up storming the plan and meeting the lion's share of targets in the last week of every month.

And what are local party committees doing? They seem to be abandoning the rightly condemned methods of direct interference in economic managers' work. But having let go of the management reins, they have suggested nothing new in exchange. To put it simply, they have got off "the cart," left production matters to take care of themselves, and at times issue backdated "measures to overcome the lag." But where are the political methods of economic leadership? Where is the work on cadre renewal, the quest for emulators of Starodubtsev, Fedorov, and Veprev? Why is it that many party committee officials are reluctant to part with the deskbound methods of activity, why is it that they never visit the workplaces in order to investigate matters in depth, promptly identify painful hotspots, and take effective measures?

Is it that party members, including those working in central economic organs, are altogether unperturbed by the acute shortages and the absence of many goods and products from the market? Is it not time for them to ponder why wages are rising at such supersonic speed in these conditions, why this growth is not backed by an even faster manufacture of high-quality goods? Look at what is happening to wages in scientific research, planning, and planning-design organizations. People's wages there have risen by 30 percent in just 6 months! At the same time, labor productivity growth was many times lower. Someone ought to take leaders to task for such "deeds" which intensify inflation.

It was said with special urgency at the recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee that the party's prestige cannot be affirmed by any decree or resolution, not even the firmest. Prestige can be gained today only by decisive and consistent pursuit of perestroika policy in life. Every plant and rural party organization will have to reinforce its prestige by deeds and, jointly with the labor collectives, must score victories—even if only small ones—each day.

One of the paramount concerns of party committees today—both in central economic departments and at local level—is to break down the bureaucratic obstacles in the path of economic reform, to develop lease relations and the cooperative movement. Let us recall one of the demands by striking collectives: "Give us autonomy in the development of production!" It is necessary to take strictly to task any leaders who, for the sake of personal ease and prosperity, sabotage the reform and strive to preserve the foundations of the obsolete administrative edict system of economic management and to plan the manufacture of every single nail at the center.

With its positive essence, the revival of political activity in production is aimed at doing away with working people's former indifference toward the results of economic activity, at emancipating the creative energy of workers, specialists, and managers. This process must not be stifled, it must be supported. At the same time, it is necessary to firmly bear in mind that nobody has abolished discipline and order in production during the period of the development of democracy and glasnost. The problems of highly organized conduct of practical affairs now perturb all of society's healthy forces. After all, we see the emergence of groups and groupings which wittingly or unwittingly disrupt the pace of labor, strive to take advantage of the nationwide movement for perestroika for their strictly selfish purposes, and wish to blame none but the party for the existing difficulties.

This idea was repeatedly heard at the recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee. In order to ensure that truth triumphs always, party members must go out among people, conduct an honest and open conversation with the masses, and persuade them of the truthfulness and correctness of the course of perestroika. And in order to achieve this it is important for every party committee and all Communists to master the tactics of preemptive actions. The perestroika processes are now developing at such a headlong pace that it becomes necessary to promptly amend the ideas people have about them, to take practice and the renewal period into account when clarifying the ideological, economic, and social goals of transformations. This will impart confidence to the party committees' work and will mobilize their forces.

The fate of perestroika, successes in the economy, and practical changes for the better at workplaces and in the social sphere are in the hands of our entire people. The Communists' leading role in every collective now, more

than ever before, must be proved by honest daily labor, high responsibility for the work in hand, and active practical affirmation of perestroika.

CPSU Said To Lack Democracy, Initiative

18001380 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian

18 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Yevgeniy Solomenko (Novosibirsk-Tomsk):
"The Chair Does Not Guarantee Authority"]

[Text] Remember the fairy tale about the Kingdom of Distorting Mirrors where falsehood reigned, where a rose was called a nettle, and a bandit and a scoundrel was called an excellent fellow! We have grown and have increasingly encountered the "distorting mirror syndrome" not only in the fairy tale but also in life. There have been so many articles, movie films, television programs, and speeches from larger or smaller podiums that distort the reality around us in one way or another, and along with it the mirror distorts us ourselves, our words, our thoughts, and our souls.

Today some of us are trying to break these distorting mirrors and replace them with normal ones that honestly reflect everything as it is. But others are taking them into their hands and are frightened: "Do not do that! If you destroy the 'room of laughter' you will create a 'room of tears!'" Have we not met with, run up against these same polar tendencies in the election campaigns of recent years, and even in the Congress of People's Deputies itself?

Our present is woven out of contradictions. One of them, as we have seen very clearly again at the congress, is the attitude toward the party. Are we not forgetting that it was the party that cried out: "Break the distorting mirrors!" and placed itself at the intersection of the floodlights—everything as it is, without makeup and fancy clothing? We know that several dozen eminent party leaders, including first secretaries of kray and oblast committees, did not receive a vote of confidence from the people in the elections. There are more and more cases of people leaving the party ranks of their own accord. During the first quarter of this year alone in Novosibirsk there were 247 of these people. More and more frequently in discussions, articles, and speeches we hear the words: A shortage of confidence. Letters coming to the PRAVDA correspondence point in Novosibirsk frequently end with the words: "Just do not send our statement to the local party and soviet organs!"

This lack of confidence did not spring out of nowhere. But (again!) we do not wish to recall, to speak out loud of the actual ailments! Our disease has become chronic: Do not disturb the real roots of the evil. It is better to look for a cause on the outside. Have problems and troubles accumulated in our life? Everyone is to blame: the press, the informal groups, television, "Little Vera," and the rock bands. Everything and anything. Except for ourselves. We have become unaccustomed to honest, straightforward mirrors! So we are offended by them and complain: "They have undermined our authority!"

But have all of us had it? Sometimes there never has been any authority. That is, the worker has had the authority of the position, the post, or the party organ. And in this "self-playing" situation the actual bearer of the position has not required any of his own personal authority.

But now our party workers have come up against an absolutely new situation—in which your position guarantees absolutely nothing and you have to win your own authority. Incidentally, this situation is new to political workers of the latest formations but not to the party as a whole. Let us recall the Bolshevik agitators and commissars of the Lenin school. Now, for the first time in many decades, life has put forth a test for professional suitability not of the pilot, not of the sailor on a submarine, not of the person who tests new technical equipment, but of the party worker: Are you a commissar or an apparatus bureaucrat?

Of course it is impossible to do without the apparatus. It is the executive working organ which is supposed to realize the political policy of the congresses, conferences, and plenums. It should. But so far certain apparatuses have been playing the role of paper shufflers: They write inquiries, accounts, reports, responses, requests, plans.... And they drown forever in their flood of paperwork. This picture can never recede into the past as long as from the podium of the plenum or conference the first secretary reads others' thoughts, advances someone else's proposals—in a word, plays the role of the dictator who more or less skillfully mouths someone else's text which has been prepared by apparatus workers.

The present day demands that party committees be changed into really democratic political staffs, into a source of ideas and actions. Today, right now. But out of age-old practice many are still trying to reduce their entire "perestroika" to a change of uniforms, an assimilation, as it were, of the "fashion of the season": The black Volga, for instance, will be replaced by a white one. But even if tomorrow all party workers begin to travel only on trolleys, will this be perestroika?

Let us imagine that all the obkoms [oblast committees] and central committees gave up their dining rooms, dachas, and polyclinics. Would the long-awaited social justice prevail then? It is ridiculous and naive to think it would. It would simply be equally bad everywhere unless our party committees, soviets, trade unions, and worker control take it upon themselves to bring order to this sphere.... For the very greatest injustice (and this is precisely what we have to combat!) is that our "unobtrusive" service is unfit and our rich and talented country is poorly fed and not very well dressed.

Here we have come to the main thing—political leadership. This work, its success or failure, will be the only real, and not nominal, authority of the party. The workers will be able to really respect not the obkom or

kraykom [kray committee] whose workers join them in the waiting lines for sausage or an airline ticket, but the one under which these waiting lines disappear.

Today many party workers when speaking about dividing up functions are waiting for that sunny day when they will not be answerable either for interruptions in supply or for the operation of transportation. But the minute the CPSU took responsibility for being the leading force in the society it became responsible and it will be responsible for transportation and for laundry detergent and for how full our refrigerators are. This means that no matter what happens the major responsibility will be placed on the party. And today, under the conditions of a general deficit and a rising cost of living, the most fashionable, the most no-account occupation, this "Hobby-89" is to hurl criticism at the party. If you have torn the party to shreds this means that you are a pioneer for perestroika. But let us think about the party we are speaking about.

The one whose ranks have seen the flourishing of Medunov, Rashidov, and Churbanov, and also other "little" Brezhnevs, Rashidovs, and Churbanovs about whom we do not know? The one whose leaders brought the country to the very edge of the abyss? Or that part of it, which actually comprises the real party backbone, who upheld Leninist traditions, who was not afraid publicly and openly to take the blame and start out on the difficult path of purification, who removed the gag of silence from our mouths and the black blindfold of ignorance from our eyes?

Further increasing and reinforcing the authority of the CPSU is possible in only one way—through democratization of intraparty life and through increasing the activity of the basis of the party—its local, lower organs. The struggle for perestroika at precisely this level will determine whether or not our party will be the decisive political factor in the Soviet society.

...Molchanovskiy Rayon in Tomsk Oblast is what one might call the boondocks, cut off from civilization. But the last report-election party conference held here was something like a strong ocean gale. And in this gale many leaders ended up blowing bubbles at the bottom of the sea. Because not a single one of the typical ailments bypassed the Molchanovskiy CPSU Raykom: a fatal attachment to the pressure style, a separation from the lower organizations (especially those that are remote from the center), and many other things.

At the conference the first secretary applied for leave, and the second secretary and the plant organizer were not even elected to the raykom. The secretary for ideology, S. Ovsyannikova, was the only one of the raykom leaders to whom the delegates said: "We trust you!"

Do you think her work was without shortcomings? Absolutely not. And they came up at this same party conference. But in spite of all this the people actively supported her, Svetlana Ovsyannikova. And they even promoted her: They made her second secretary.

But why? Because her life is the same as that of the Molchanovskiy residents and she works honestly and hard. She does not separate ideology, "her" sphere, from all the other problems and concerns of the rayon: She sees ideological and educational work not only in seminars and lectures but also in having more products shipped promptly to the rural store; in having veterans not be forgotten when they go on pension; in making sure that the farms do not drown in manure and filth. And she rushes around in her own pine and cranberry kingdom-state, through the roadless marshy taiga areas—into the bitter cold, the storms, the bad roads....

Our party is no longer the same as it was several years ago. It has become older and wiser. During these couple of years it has tasted the bitter medicine of truth. One still cannot say that it has completely gotten rid of self-complacency and intolerance, the narrowmindedness and passivity of the workers. But it is a fact that these are decreasing appreciably.

Gradually, slowly, and with difficulty, but the party is acquiring a new and higher quality. But many party committees and workers frequently lag behind this overall growth. I emphasize: It is not age that is the criterion for whether or not a party leader is in step with the times. In Krasnozerskiy Rayon in Novosibirsk Oblast even now one frequently remembers with a good word Vasilii Ivanovich Korebeynikov, the former first secretary of the party raykom who went on pension long ago. And how can one not remember someone who raised the rayon out of a condition of being barefoot, hungry, and living off the land and made it into one of the best rayons of the oblast—with excellent roads, well-tended farms, a sports palace and swimming pool, and its own art gallery!...

There were times when things became extremely difficult because of all that had piled up. Vasilii Ivanovich would find a minute to himself at dinner or late in the evening, and then he would lock himself in his office and... play the violin. He would play and he would gain confidence that the impoverished, half-dilapidated villages would become bright and attractive. I do not know what kind of violinist he was. But today when I walk through the neat and attractive Krasnozer it is as though I can hear the music of the violin pressed in quite unmusical peasant fingers.

And today it is especially important for this sense of beauty, this "commissariat of the spirit" to be handed on to young party workers.

One of the symptoms of our chronic disease is the way certain party committees react to various independent associations of informal groups. Let us ask ourselves a couple of fairly unpleasant questions. Why do these

people who are struggling for democratization, for the ecology, for protection of our culture and antiquity prefer to achieve their goals through their own forces and not in close cooperation with the party? Why is it not the party committees or communists who lead this socially important struggle? And why do the leaders of the informal groups in discussions and in communication with the most diverse audiences frequently get into arguments with our ideologists?

It is time for us to get rid of the primitive narrowness of our views and our militant intolerance. In order for the party not to grow into a sect, it must enrich itself with healthy, progressive forces of all socially active groupings that are working for perestroika (of course, we are not speaking about extremist, anti-Soviet, or anticommunist elements). Life and reality do not allow the party any other possibilities: Either take charge of perestroika and solve the crucial problems boldly and effectively or be controlled by events and allow the democratic processes to grow into anarchy and an outburst of irresponsibility.

The reality test. Novosibirsk has every right to call itself a city of gloomy people. Because they have nothing special to be happy about: The only things they have plenty of are problems—long standing, severe, unsolved for years. One of these problems is how to feed the people of Novosibirsk with satisfying, tasty, and good food. Now the Novosibirsk Obkom [oblast committee] in conjunction with the oblispolkom [oblast executive committee] has finally decided to break out of the squirrel cage of the annual agrarian "hoopla." They need real scientific and technical progress and new technical equipment that is adapted to local conditions. And the main thing the exhausted anemic agriculture needs is a social "shot in the arm."

The oblast party organization has set the task of saving 300 dying villages and raising their living conditions to the level of the central farmsteads. But where are they to get the money necessary for this? Should they go with their hat in hand to Moscow and pass the hat among the central departments? But the state treasury is not limitless either. We shall find it ourselves!

The obkom went to the labor collectives of industry and science, construction and transportation, and appealed to them to allot 10 percent of their economic incentive funds. I emphasize: These funds are not taken from housing construction, but from unutilized, frozen resources.

"On the whole the Novosibirsk workers supported us," says the person in charge of implementing this program, the second secretary of the CPSU obkom, V. Mukha. "But some began to refuse: the Sibnia precision machinebuilding plant and the Oksid and Yakhont associations. And the director and secretary of the party committee of the Berdsk electrical machine plant [BEMZ] took cover under the decision of their labor collective council."

A typical detail: Many refused even to discuss this issue at party meetings. But what is the opinion of the Communists? What is the role of the secretary of the party committee of this same BEMZ, and why did the party committee not explain the essence of the matter to the people and persuade them? And what will the plant leadership use to feed its workers? At whose expense—will they hide behind those collectives who were not stingy today and sacrificed themselves for the common good?

I wanted very much to believe that the program for advancing agriculture, the struggle for the purity of the Oblast and the city air, the construction of new hospitals and fruit and vegetable storage facilities, the sausage plant, and the meat combine would have an appreciable effect on the life of Novosibirsk residents in the next 2-3 years. Only then would the people receive their oblast and city leaders with sincere respect.

Novosibirsk has always been an immense construction site. But while previously it was mainly shops and plants that appeared on this site, and smokestacks of new factories stretched up to the sky, now health centers, powerful purification installations, stores, and hothouses are being built. A city is being constructed for people. And during the process of this work the party committees themselves are being built and welded together.

The main thing for them now is to turn from papers to people with their living pain and thousands of concerns and to renounce the petty desire to put dust in their own eyes. And in order to do this, their first task is to break the distorting mirror and turn their gaze toward the truth, however difficult and bitter it may be.

Moscow Party Control, Auditing Body Holds Plenum
PM1707134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Part of General Party Mechanism"]

[Text] The role and tasks of the Moscow city party organization's Control and Auditing Commission in present-day conditions were discussed at its first plenum 14 July. This commission has been created as an experiment by decision of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The report of the commission's chairman, T.P. Arkhipova, and the speeches of other participants noted that the capital's Communists have charged the city and rayon commissions with a most responsible task—of being part of the general party mechanism of self-control, analysis, and cleansing. Questions of Communists' responsibility for the solution of the city's urgent social problems occupy a leading place in the control and auditing commissions' work.

Analyzing the initial experience of the work of control and auditing commissions, speakers noted that the party's entire control activity is now concentrated in one pair of hands and that in the form of the Control and

Auditing Commission the CPSU city committee and rayon committees have a real, skilled, and permanent opponent. Increasing demands are being made on Communists for the way in which their work helps to boost the party's prestige.

The plenum was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Moscow CPSU city committee. The broad powers of party control organs, the tasks which face them, and the experienced cadres enlisted in their work, he said, must promote the process of democratizing internal party life, strengthening collectivist principles in the leadership of party organizations, and eliminating existing mistakes and preventing potential ones.

The organizational and ideological unity of Communists, discipline, and the purity of party ranks are more important than ever now for the successful solution of the tasks of perestroika. The basis of our activity and the center of our daily concerns must be the things which trouble the people today, which are being actively discussed in labor collectives and at rallies, and which await a political solution. The times demand that party organizations take vigorous actions in the transformations that are being carried out.

The main direction of the Moscow city party organization's work, the speaker stressed, is the preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress. We must approach that congress as the renewed party of Soviet society's political vanguard.

Readers Invited To Comment on CPSU Statutes

PM1707111889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[A. Petrushov answer to reader's letter under the rubric "From the History of the Statutes": "On Party Membership"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Excerpts] The CPSU statutes are the main law of party life. They are strictly binding on all party organizations and members. They why have instances of violation of statutory norms become more frequent? Does this not indicate that the document needs improving and developing? It is well known that V.I. Lenin attached enormous significance to this.

[Signed] I. Stepashkin, CPSU member since 1942, Sevastopol.

[Petrushov reply] [passage omitted] The statutes approved by the 22d congress (October 1961) updated the formulation of party membership: "Any citizen of the Soviet Union who recognizes the party program and statutes, participates actively in building communism, works in a party organization, fulfills party decisions, and pays membership dues may be a member of the CPSU."

This formulation was retained in the statutes adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress (February-March 1986). In the course of the discussion of amendments to the statutes, some 2 million people expressed their views. The idea of the Communist's personal responsibility for the party's ideological and moral health is a recurrent theme. Various forms of the development of intraparty democracy are reflected. After a lengthy break, a provision appeared in the statutes on debates, which are possible on a partywide scale, too. In that event they are announced either on the Central Committee's initiative or on the proposal of several party organizations at oblast level. We have already participated in such a debate, when materials were discussed in the press and at party meetings prior to the 27th congress. And the 19th all-union party conference held in June-July 1988 brought us back, in terms of its openness, frankness, and directness, to the atmosphere that existed in the party in V.I. Lenin's day.

The authors of letters to PRAVDA propose that concrete new provisions be enshrined in the Statutes, in particular on the development of intraparty democracy, as well as tougher demands on ethics, admission, and expulsion. Clearly the question of amendments to the statutes will be raised at the 28th party congress, too. So, esteemed readers, the editorial office's party life department awaits your proposals and wishes.

Historian Says Perestroika Being Weakened

LD0508151989 Hamburg DPA in German 1355 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Soviet historian Yuriy Afanasyev, co-founder of the new national group of deputies in Moscow, is of the opinion that perestroika "is being weakened in many spheres and in other spheres has not yet started". Perestroika has "either lost its original essence or has never taken shape," Afanasyev said in an interview with the news magazine "DER SPIEGEL."

In reply to a question whether his group was seen as a real opposition, the historian stated: "I believe that we are or can become an opposition." There are people who accuse his group of splitting, "but both the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies had already split before our group existed," Afanasyev stated. The national group of deputies is a consequence of the splitting and not the cause.

Afanasyev described the working conditions of the Soviet deputies as bad. He named "the indifference of the arch-reactionary bureaucracy on all levels" as one of the fundamental impediments in the country. The people are discouraged, disappointed, and angered. In the estimation of Afanasyev, who is calling for a "democratic society instead of a totalitarian system," "40 million people, perhaps even more, are living below the poverty line in the USSR."

Medvedev Meets Political Figures in Estonia
LD1107202389

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1700 GMT on 7 July broadcasts a 7-1/2-minute report on the visit to Estonia by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Medvedev. On his third day in Estonia Medvedev met representatives of various public movements and the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party. Hubert Veldermann reports that the visitor obtained a much more complete picture of the Estonian political and social life than is available from Moscow. Over the course of these days, everything was discussed, beginning with extreme movements and resolutions of the Estonian Supreme Soviet down to the structure and role of the Estonian Communist Party.

This morning representatives of the Inter-movement came to meet comrade Medvedev. Veldermann says that the listener must already be well familiar with their demands in respect of republican leadership and their course. Medvedev's address is broadcast in part. He says that he understands the concerns and worries of the Inter-Movement but that presenting ultimatums is unacceptable.

Afterwards Medvedev met representatives of creative unions. "It was stressed that we have no interethnic opposition but that there is a struggle between the old, great-power thinking and the representation of [word indistinct]. The role of ethnic cultures in sovereign union republics was discussed," says Veldermann.

"Of fundamental importance was the meeting of the visitor with the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Supreme Soviet Presidium, government and first secretaries of town and rayon Estonian Communist Party committees, and with department heads of [words indistinct]. The role of the Estonian Communist Party today was seriously discussed—a decline in its prestige, social movements, and relationships at the all-union level. Comrade Medvedev emphasized in his final speech that at the moment the most important thing is not to remain half-way with *perestroika*." This is how Hubert Veldermann described the meeting. Medvedev also said that since Estonia wishes to decide for herself, she takes responsibility upon herself. First and foremost one has to consider cooperation between the peoples and a mutual resolution to the nationality question. Medvedev said that the Estonian Communist Party should play the leading role in the dialogue within the republic.

Vaino Valjas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee thanked the visitor for the discussion and hoped that Medvedev's visit would benefit both the nationality plenum and Estonia.

Deputy Criticizes Russian Presence in Estonia
PM0808074889 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET
in Swedish 24 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by USSR People's Deputy Tiyt Made: "Great-Russian Nationalism"]

[Text] I got the idea of writing something about Russians from a short story written by Arvo Valton and published in the periodical VIKERKAAR (The Rainbow; No 5, 1989). The choice of periodical was quite fitting bearing in mind that it is also published in Russian and as a result the views expressed are also accessible to those to whom they apply. Russians I know in both Tallinn and Moscow are moved that someone has succeeded in penetrating their national soul with such a degree of empathy, even though the picture seems gloomy. Estonia finds itself in the iron grip of this empire-building people, as to a certain extent do the Finns. We have to constantly follow this forbidding neighbor so that he does not become angry and this means that we are of necessity constantly reminded of whom we have to deal with. I would like here to put forward a number of views which here and there are in agreement with Arvo Valton's, but the background to our experiences is in part different.

For us Estonians there may be some comfort in the fact that no empire has lasted for ever, nor is the Russian empire likely to do so. Inside the Russian empire—nowadays the Soviet Union—there is unrest in many places, and this gives rise to the need for change. When I was taking part in the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow recently and was at Luzhniki in the evenings I understood when I listened to people's feelings that the Russians no longer accept losing their dominance. At Luzhniki the flags of Czarist Russia were fluttering and demands were heard for a return to the order that prevailed in the years after the February revolution in 1917 (!). In the congress auditorium, where 1,032 of the 2,249 people's deputies were Russians, we repeatedly heard empire-preserving and empire-strengthening ideas in a modern Russian form. The Russians expressed their surprise that the small minority peoples in particular did not appreciate their "help and friendship" and wished instead to live independently.

What is truly Russian? For centuries the Russians have lived under Mongol or Tatar repression, and that is why the Russians are in part at least an ethnically mixed people. One seldom finds a agreeable, friendly, and good-natured Russian. There are few of them. In their day Tatars and Mongols forced their way into Russian villages, pillaged, and killed the men and raped Russian women. The Russians of today are therefore a mixture of these peoples who once forced themselves on Russian women. Hence this aggressiveness, this need to show strength and recognize [as published] other people's successes as your own. This picture is of course colored by the Estonians' experience over centuries of what Russian domination can mean.

Naturally I have met Russians who are friendly, intelligent, willing to give away their last crust of bread, and who understand the worries of their fellow men. But only to a certain point. As soon as the conversation touches on Estonia's secession from the Soviet Empire, internal fragmentation, or the return of regions which belong to other countries or ethnic groups, intelligence and understanding are gone with the wind. That is when Russian nationalism emerges: There is after all nothing better than belonging to or being dependent on Russia. I have spoken to Russians who have emigrated, who fight zealously against communism and party bureaucracy, but nevertheless they find it hard to understand Estonia's striving for independence. Even historian Roy Medvedev was surprised when this striving of Estonia's was discussed. He thought that we should fight together for a democratic Russia (or Soviet Union) and then work together for a good future.

The Russians have somewhat of a masochistic bent. They appreciate it when you express yourself in resolute terms and are bold. If you go to a Russian boss [*arbetsledare*, literally 'work leader'] in a friendly and polite fashion (or, as I would like to put it, in the European fashion) to ask for something or get support for something, then you cannot expect very much. You will be met with orders and harsh words. The result will thus be more or less zero. With politeness, or, figuratively speaking, cap in hand, you are unlikely to achieve anything. You have quite simply to express yourself in a way that your opposite number understands. You have to be self-confident, be able to speak out, be loud. This is difficult for the quietly spoken Estonian, it feels impolite, but often you have no choice. The Russian likes to be better than others, to share his "friendship," to force himself and his lifestyle on you. Even his love life is aggressive, loud, and violent. There is violence against women, and afterwards passionate love and enjoyment.

The Russians have increased the size of their country by conquering their neighbors. Conquest is so well integrated into Russian cultural history, art, music, and literature that it can almost be counted a typical characteristic. That is why it is difficult to trace where their roots are to be found—in the Pskov or Novgorod areas [*trakt*], or somewhere in the central Soviet Union or Siberia. During my stay in Moscow for the Congress of People's Deputies I traveled in a black Volga, whose driver assured me that he was a full-blooded Russian without any admixture of Tatar blood and that his home town was Novosibirsk. But Siberia was conquered by Yermak (the Cossack chieftain) and the Khanate in the 16th century!

The areas of land conquered needed to be colonized and thus the migrations began. Several hundred years ago, people were already being sent to settle Siberia—something that is still going on. Russians are sent to Kazakhstan, Estonia, Moldavia, and the Far East. When you look at the representatives at the Congress of People's

Deputies with reference to the delegates' ethnic backgrounds, you find an increased proportion of Russians even from regions which are inhabited by totally different ethnic groups. In the Congress auditorium there were 40 Kazakhs and 27 Russians as delegates for the electoral districts representing Kazakhstan. Eleven Russians in the Kirghiz delegation and the same number in the Belorussian delegation. Russians were also strongly represented in the Moldavian, Latvian, Tajik, and Uzbek delegations. Even in the delegations which represented ethnic groups such as the Karelians, Moldavians, Buryats, and so on, Russians predominated.

It would do the Russians themselves good to feel that their empire is falling apart. They need to be shaken up and be persuaded that they are not the center of the world. They have acquired the bad habit of living off their neighbors and have therefore needed to work and exert themselves less. The Russians have gotten used to helping themselves within the framework of good friendship. Arvo Valton thinks that the disintegration of the Russian empire, if it is relatively bloodless, could cleanse the Russians' conscience and preserve a genuinely Russian culture. Even this culture is in danger because the Russians have a tendency to view the whole of the Soviet Union's culture as their own; in other words, they have taken over all their neighbors' cultural traditions and made them their own. The Russian people have been harmed by Lenin's ideas about one people, one language, and one culture common throughout the world. Russians are often deeply convinced that there is nothing better in the world than the Russian language and Russian culture.

Arvo Valton writes: "The Estonians have been unlucky with their neighbors. Above all history has served them up with three devastating wars: the Livonian War in the mid-16th century, the Great Northern War in the early 18th century, and the prelude and postlude of World War II... This has forced us into self-defense and for this reason we are not always able to be objective." The Russians who today live in Estonia are demanding their rights, something which in its turn is forcing us onto the defensive. In no way am I able to make it clear to them that Estonia belongs to the Estonians, who should therefore have the right to the decisive voice. Everyone else should be viewed as consultants.

In 1939, Hitler summoned home to Germany the Germans in Estonia. All of them went. Soon the time should also be ripe for Gorbachev to summon home all the Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians living in Estonia. Their own villages are standing empty. There is a shortage of manpower, there is a shortage of people to plant the seed in the ground. We have been criticized for living at the expense of the Russians. But we will be glad to pay them back and are also offering 300,000-400,000 Russians the chance to return to their villages. In addition, the Estonians have offered to build houses and schools. Start the work in your home village, only thereafter can we begin to talk about cooperation, about friendship and equal status between peoples. Hitherto, however, the struggle has been a struggle

for our existence—a struggle to keep our land and be able to live there. This is a task which admits of no compromises, where incorporation and cooperation cannot be discussed.

Of course there are many agreeable and intelligent people among the Russians. Several of them did not even ask the question: "Do you really want to leave the Soviet Union?" But asked instead: "Why do you want to do that?"

Estonian Professor's View of Russians Disputed
PM0708180289 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 5 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Feature consisting of article by Estonian Professor Tiyt Made written for Sweden's SVENSKA DAGBLADET newspaper; letter from Siberian scientist Arkadiy Petrovich Yanenko, rector of Novosibirsk Engineering Construction Institute; commentary by Swedish journalist Harry Schein in DAGENS NYHETER; and unattributed SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA comment: "Under Suspicion...All Russians"]

[Text]

Article by Estonian Professor Tiyt Made in Swedish Newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET

[TASS report] Stockholm—On 24 July the newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET published an article entitled "Great-Russian Nationalism" by USSR People's Deputy Tiyt Made (Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]).

[Tiyt Made article] The idea of writing something about the Russians came to me from a novel by writer Arvo Valton, which was published in the [Estonian-language] journal VIKERKAAR (in translation, the "Rainbow" ["Rainbow"] publishing house [as published], No 5, 1989). The choice of journal was very apposite, in view of the fact that it is also published in Russian, and the views are accessible also to those whom it concerns. The Russians I know in both Tallinn and Moscow are indignant that someone could penetrate their people's soul so profoundly, although the picture thus opened up appears gloomy [sentence as published]. Estonia is in firm, iron dependence on an empire created by the people, as are the Finns to some extent. It is necessary to constantly watch this malicious neighbor to make sure he is not angered, and it is necessary to constantly remember who you are dealing with. I want to express some views here that coincide with Arvo Valton's view, but the basis of our experience differs in part.

For us Estonians, and this is consoling, there is no such thing as an eternal empire, and the Russian empire can hardly be any such thing. Thanks to the Russian state, the Soviet Union has since then gained strength in many respects, which led to changes in demands [sentence as published]. While I was taking part in the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow and spending the evenings in Luzhniki, I realized, when I listened to people's feelings,

that the Russians could not accept that they are losing their dominance. In Luzhniki people were waving tsarist flags and demanding the return of the order established after the 1917 revolution. In the Palace of Congresses, where 1,032 of the 2,249 elected people were Russians, there were recurrent, insistent voices coming out in defense of modern Russian development [as published]. The Russians expressed surprise that some small national minorities do not value their "help and friendship," but, on the contrary, want to live autonomously.

What is a true Russian? The Russians lived for centuries under Mongol or Tatar influence, and therefore Russians are to this day a multinational nation in ethnic terms.

Seldom does one come across a pleasant, friendly, good-natured Russian. There are almost none. In their day The Tatars and Mongols invaded Russian villages, killed and captured the male population, and raped Russian women. That is why today the Russian people are so intermingled with people who, at one time, raped Russian women. Hence the aggressiveness, the need to show your strength, and pass off other people's successes as your own. This picture is, of course, colored by Estonian experience over several centuries and by what Russian domination can mean.

Of course I have met friendly, intelligent Russians who are prepared to give up their last crust of bread and who understand human concerns. But that is only one side of the matter. As soon as the subject of Estonia's secession from the Soviet empire or the return of regions belonging to other countries or ethnic groups is raised, the intelligence and mutual understanding are gone with the wind. When Russian nationalism is manifested, nothing could be better than to belong to or be dependent on Russia. I have spoken with Russian emigres who are fiercely opposed to communism and party democracy, but who have difficulty understanding Estonia's desire for autonomy. Even the historian Roy Medvedev was surprised when Estonia's desire for autonomy was discussed. He thought we should struggle together for democracy in Russia (in the Soviet Union), and then work together for a good future.

Russians have, in part, a masochistic bent. They value it highly when you express yourself resolutely, which is rude. If you go to a Russian leader in an amicable and polite way (you could say, in the European manner) with a request or to ask for support, then you will not have long to wait. If you go and make demands, the result will be zero. If you speak politely or, figuratively speaking, go "cap in hand," you will immediately get results. You should express yourself so simply that the opposing side can understand you. You should be absolutely confident and know how to say "no," and do it loudly. This is difficult for the quiet Estonians, it is even impolite, but often they have no choice. The Russians like to be better

than others, to make their own "friendship," to dictate their style of life. Even in love, aggressiveness and violence are displayed. After the raping of women comes love and delight.

The Russians want to extend their possessions by changing the borders. Conquests have been well integrated into the Russian history of culture, art, music, and literature, and can be regarded as a specific characteristic. It is therefore hard to detect where their roots come from—the Pskov or Novgorod highway [trakt], or somewhere in the middle belt of Russia or Siberia. During the holding of the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow, I traveled in a black Volga car whose driver assured me that he is Russian, that his blood is not mingled with Tatar blood, and that he comes from Novosibirsk. But Siberia was conquered by Yermak, in the 1500's—by the khanate.

The conquered lands had to be colonized, and then the migrations began. Several hundred years ago people were already being sent to settle in Siberia, and this remains topical to this day. Russians are sent to Kazakhstan, Estonia, Moldavia, and the Far East. If you examine how the delegates are represented at the newly elected Congress of People's Deputies in light of ethnic origin, you can find an increased proportion of Russians even from regions that are populated by completely different ethnic groups. In the congress auditorium, there were 40 Kazakhs and 27 Russians as deputies from the electoral okrugs representing Kazakhstan. The Kirghiz delegation included 11 Russians, and there were as many in the Belorussian delegation. There was a strong Russian representation in the Moldavian, Latvian, Tajik, and Uzbek delegations. Equally, in the delegations representing such ethnic groups as the Karelians, Buryats, and so forth, Russians predominated.

The Russians themselves need to feel that the empire is disintegrating. They need to be shaken up, and to realize that they are not the center of the earth. They have developed a bad habit of living at their neighbors' expense, and therefore working and exerting themselves less. The Russians are used to receiving, within the framework of good friendship. Arvo Valton believes that the Russian empire's collapse, if it takes place comparatively bloodlessly, could cleanse the Russians' conscience and preserve a truly Russian culture. This culture is also threatened because there is a tendency to perceive the entire Soviet Union's culture as their own, in other words, the Russians took in the cultural traditions of neighboring peoples and made them their own. The Russian people were damaged by Lenin's ideas on a single people, language, and culture for the whole world. Russians are often profoundly convinced that there is nothing better anywhere in the world than Russian language and culture.

Arvo Valton writes: "The Estonians are unlucky with their neighbors. First of all, three devastating wars fell to their lot: the Livonian War in the mid-16th century, the

Northern War in the early 18th century, and the beginning and end of World War II. This forced us into self-defense, and therefore we cannot always be objective." Russians who live in Estonia today also demand rights, which, in turn, again forces us to take up a defensive position. I simply cannot make them understand that Estonia belongs to the Estonians, who should therefore have the right to decide. Everyone else should be regarded as having the right to be consulted.

In 1939 Hitler called the Germans home from Estonia to Germany. All the Germans went. The time will soon come when Gorbachev will have to call home all the Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians living in Estonia. Their own villages are standing empty. There is not enough manpower, not enough people to scatter the grain on the land. We were criticized for living at the Russians' expense. But we will willingly pay our debt and furthermore, we propose that 300,000-400,000 Russians return to their villages. The Estonians have also offered to build houses and schools. Start working in your own home village, and only then can we start talking about cooperation, friendship, and the identical status of the peoples. However, hitherto the struggle has been a struggle for survival—for keeping one's land and living on it. This is work that brooks no compromises, work in which cooperation cannot be discussed.

Of course there are many pleasant and intelligent people among the Russians. Many of them have not even asked the question: "Do you really want to secede from the Soviet Union?" Instead they have asked: "Why do you want to do that?"

Letter From Siberian Scientist Arkadiy Petrovich Yanenko, Novosibirsk Engineering Construction Institute Rector

I am not an expert on the nationalities question nor, I must admit, had I thought of making public statements on this topic. However, it is difficult to hold back when you read some of the published material and come across "prescriptions" for interethnic relations which take your breath away. After a close study of the latest offering, there is only one way to figure out the meaning of the latest word in fashionable concepts: To work out the purpose for which it has been created and the extent to which it might be viable. It was from these positions that I, of Russian extraction and a native Siberian bearing a Ukrainian name, attempted to penetrate Tiyt Made's arguments. I must admit that I made every effort to restrain myself, striving to persuade myself at every line of his work that this was nothing special, just pluralism of opinions in action. Thank God, everyone can now say what he thinks. I am writing this without any taunt; I have always striven—at least for as long as I can remember—to understand an interlocutor's position no matter how contrary it might be to my own beliefs and ideas. I have made special efforts to be unbiased if he turned out to be an original personality who had seen and experienced a lot.

Since I had never heard of Tiyt Made before, my interest was that much keener: For what purpose did this expert on the Russian soul—who is unknown among the broad strata of the people, has acquaintances in Tallinn and Moscow, and has even attended rallies in Luzhniki—make his "study?" I realize that he would be the best person to answer this, and I shall certainly try to get an explanation when we meet. However, it seems to me that the article "Great-Russian Nationalism" was written "in the heat of the moment," without in-depth probing of the essence of the matter. Immediately after reading Arvo Valton's novel, he simply got "the idea of writing something about the Russians." My hypothesis is also confirmed by the fact that the Estonian deputy's revelations contain neither factual data, nor sufficient historical knowledge, nor evidence of any worthwhile personal experience in coming to know the Russian people and their soul. It seems as if Tiyt Made is studying the history of the Russian state from the Latvian People's Front news bulletin "Awakening" [Probuzhdeniye—Russian rendition of Latvian "Atmoda"]. I cannot dispute that it does carry interesting works demanding serious study, like the article "Does Russia Have Any Colonies?" by geographical sciences candidate B. Rodoman from Moscow, but nonetheless, esteemed researcher, all this is nowhere near enough to suddenly provide knowledge of the Russian soul by the method of sudden illumination.

Leaving aside all the ambiguities with which Made's article abounds, it is possible to trace his sole innermost thought: As a result of various historical cataclysms the Russians, the Russian nation no longer exists, and it is questionable if it ever did. [sentence as received] In his opinion, it was assimilated after the Mongolian-Tatar enslavement and colonial conquests. As for those who call themselves Russians today—they are sullen, aggressive, uncivilized, arrogant people who love to live off others. It appears that the people's deputy has no doubts that a nation possessing the pig-headedness of bosses to whom everyone should bow and scrape is obviously inferior, especially in the conditions of the Estonian SSR. Indeed, after all, Russians "often have a masochistic bent in their character" and so on.

There is no need to continue quoting... Why are we singled out for such an honor, being blamed for every single one of our misfortunes. After all, look at the history of any people's development and you will hardly find one which has not experienced the horrors of wars and violence. If we begin trying to work out what sort of blood is running in whose veins today, we will achieve nothing but dirty insinuations. Esteemed Tiyt Made, I think that you have enough experience of life and historical knowledge to recall that the thesis of the inferiority of Slavs and other non-Aryan peoples was used as a basis for the doctrine of a certain notorious politician who recalled Germans from the Baltic countries to Germany before he unleashed the war. If for some reason you are unaware of this, let me remind you: I am talking about Hitler and fascism. After all, slogans like "Estonia Only for Estonians" have already been

heard in the past. Is this not true? Why not think up a different one like, for example, "Estonia for Those Who Live in Estonia!"? Just like Russia has become the motherland of those who live in it.

I am rector of the Novosibirsk Engineering Construction Institute and have worked there for many years. I must say that representatives of all nations and peoples seem to have studied there. Including Balts. My friend Viktor Paupe and I studied in the same group for over 4 years. Of course you could say that this was a long time ago. However, it is interesting that even today we admit to our initial courses graduates from the most diverse nationalities—Armenians, Azeris, Jews, Yakuts, Russians, Kazakhs, Georgians, and Germans. For example, I often talk to Caucasians. When I ask them why they have joined a Russian higher education establishment, as a rule the answer is standard: "You admit people without bribes." Give some deep thought to this, which is unfortunately an everyday occurrence. People born in the Caucasus travel to get educated in Russia and, as a rule, find support here. And yet we know that they will return to the Caucasus, they won't stay in Russia, nonetheless....

You must agree that nowadays everyone has a sphere of activity where he could vent his negative attitude toward people of different nationalities. I could do this in the admission of graduates. It is no secret that my position offers plenty of opportunities in this respect. For example, why should the Novosibirsk scientific community not say "Russia Only for the Russians!" and switch off the oxygen supply to all the rest. But this has not happened and will not happen; such attitudes are contrary to the genuine historical traditions of Russia which, throughout its 1,000-year history, has simply been unable to tell anyone, in the genuine European tradition: "These are your problems, gentlemen...." Twice in mankind's history it has borne the main assault of conquerors of the world, thus saving many peoples from genocide. And now the Russians are getting the blame for this!

Tiyt Made uses the most intricate formulations to tell Swedish readers that Estonia is rigidly dependent on the "Russian Empire," implying that this means state centralization taken to absurd lengths. Even if his formulations were accepted, Estonia is suffering, but in no way more than Russia itself. And now that the deputies of this "empire," who include many Russians—intolerably many, from Made's point of view—have almost unanimously voted in favor of Estonia's territorial economic accountability, Russia has found itself much more dependent on the center than the Baltic region. Estonia is following the path it considers to be necessary, and nobody—especially not the Russian people—is placing any serious obstacles in its way.

The sophisticated Estonian decided to produce a collective portrait of the Russians, proving to be a master of the color black in the process. No, far be it from me to even think of presenting the Russians as a supernation. But we are the same as everyone else, not worse. For

example, I am not enthusiastic about the methods used at times to recall the need to revive Russian culture; all hysterics make me sick. Every people has its nationalistic quirks as well as its genuine national aspirations. No people can deny the existence of this duality. There is nothing easier than passing judgement on the basis of the former—they are more noticeable, more lurid, and more noisy. But there are other, genuine Russian aspirations, esteemed deputy, and they consist of restoring their trampled dignity to all nations and peoples without exception including, no matter how unpleasant this might be to some, the Russian people. You have labored in vain to prove that we are aggressive, because the world today laughs at those who continue to try to frighten it with the "Russian threat." True enough, you have a somewhat different interpretation of this term, a domestic one [otechestvennoye], but—if the truth be told—trying to frighten the USSR peoples with the Russians is, to say the least, a sign of ignorance. It has taken a long time and many difficulties to get rid of such approaches toward interethnic relations. It is not worth reviving them in relations between ourselves.

The Russian people could be reproached if they actually lived better than others, but people who have acquaintances not just in Tallinn and Moscow know the conditions in which people live in our countryside and cities. It would be naive—to say the least—to assume that an exception was made for Russians in the process of universal leveling of national distinctions which prevailed in our country for many years. What other shocks do you and Arvo Valton suggest that Russia should experience? Civil war, peasants' revolts, collectivization, famine, mass repressions, and the wonders of the theory of "unpromising villages?"

Of course, Tiit Made is not the originator of the idea of the Russians' universal blameworthiness, he is not the first and he will not be the last. But to this day I find it hard to believe that this could have been written by a USSR people's deputy. I still wonder whether this might have been a mistake in translation or some other misunderstanding. This feeling is so strong that I simply cannot get over it. And if Made really did write this, could it be that all Estonians and other peoples think the same? After all, Made's "essay" is a monstrous lie!

There are many questions, too many in fact, and they are not as pleasant for Made to hear as the ones on which he ends his study of "Great-Russian Nationalism." I very much hope that we will meet at the congress, and then I shall try to ask People's Deputy Tiit Made: "What made you think of the Russian people in this way?"

Article by Well-Known Swedish Journalist Harry Schein

[TASS report] Stockholm—TASS correspondent D. Gorokhov reports that another leading Swedish newspaper, DAGENS NYHETER, responded to T. Made's article in SVENSKA DAGBLADET, "Great-Russian

Nationalism." Under the headline "Schein on Nationalism," DAGENS NYHETER published the following commentary by well-known journalist Harry Schein, who writes for it regularly:

[Schein commentary] SVENSKA DAGBLADET carries a column by Tiit Made, professor of international economics in Tallinn and, according to available information, a "leading figure in the Estonian reformist movement." The title of this item is "Great-Russian Nationalism." Here are some quotations:

"For centuries the Russians lived under the Mongol or Tatar yoke, and therefore from the ethnic viewpoint they are in part a mixed nation. Seldom does one come across a pleasant, friendly, good-natured Russian."

"The Russian people today are... a mixture of the peoples that once raped Russian women. Hence this aggressiveness...."

"The Russians have, in part, a masochistic bent. They value it when people talk to them in a commanding, peremptory tone."

"Russians like to be better than other people.... They have a bad habit of living at their neighbors' expense. As a result they have had to work and exert themselves to a lesser extent." End of quotation. But Professor Made "has, of course, met Russians who are friendly and intelligent." As the saying goes, "some of my best friends are blacks."

"INPUT" is an international organization which screens programs by noncommercial television companies from all over the world every year. This year it met in Stockholm. Estonia was represented. I was able to see some of the programs, including reportage on a mass rally on some national holiday, with hundreds of thousands (!) of participants.

The program was remarkable if only because it was screened on Estonian television. Glasnost has come a long way. All the speakers demanded freedom for Estonia. Some even spoke of "Greater Estonia." One of them extended a hand in the same direction as the statue of Charles XII in Stockholm's Kungsträdgården Park [to the east].

The masses were jubilant. I had an unpleasant sensation of déjà vu, I was reminded of the voices and mass rallies of my childhood in Vienna in the thirties.

It is hard to determine which of the Soviet Union's problems is most complex—the economy or the centrifugal ethnic forces.

Economic problems are acute, but they can, if only theoretically, be resolved in the future. But can any government take responsibility for the disintegration of its country? Are any more possibilities open to Gorbachev than were open to Lincoln 130 years ago?

They say that a Swedish provincial newspaper once warned Bismarck for the third and last time. The British journal *THE ECONOMIST* does not warn foreign governments, but it is inclined to give good advice. If you simply act as the editor sees fit, all your problems will be solved.

We will be rather more modest. But all the same, it is hard to see any peaceful alternative to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, other than a federation with a far-reaching decentralization of power in favor of the republics. But then what will happen about ethnic contradictions in the republics?

Let us come back to Professor Made. A large Russian-speaking minority lives in Estonia. They were resettled there 50 years ago. Now Made says that Estonia is demanding its rights. "Estonia belongs to the Estonians, who should have the right to decide. Everyone else should be regarded as having a consultative say.... Soon the time will come for Gorbachev to recall all Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians living in Estonia."

Olof Palme was probably the first Western statesman to see the strength of nationalism in Algeria, Palestine, and Vietnam. The recognition of this was not without problems for a social democrat with ideological roots in socialism's internationalist views.

First, national liberation. Then comes the time to see what to do with your freedom. At worst, national liberation and internal oppression.

National liberation movements are not in themselves democratic, even when they are spearheaded against an undemocratic foreign oppressor.

[Unattributed SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA commentary] DAGENS NYHETER journalist Harry Schein concludes his commentary with reflections on the dangers inherent in the degeneration of national movements into nationalist movements, and ponders on the complexity and sensitivity of the question of the autonomy of national minorities in conditions relating to a multinational country. "Can all minorities in the world really be autonomous? Georgians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and the population of Kirghizia, Turkmenia, and a number of other regions whose existence we never even heard of in geography lessons in school?" he asks.

The perestroika process that has begun in our country is a necessary work of cleansing. The resolution of many complex problems that have accumulated depends on its success—social, national, and economic problems. In resolving them we want to draw on our own ideas and

other countries' experience. We want to take from that experience whatever will promote the development, in society, of respect for the interests and opinions of every citizen.

We can learn much from Sweden, which has made considerable progress along the path of ensuring equality of rights and opportunities. These Swedish democratic traditions hardly fit in with the notions of Tiyt Made, who proposes to give some citizens the right to decide, while reserving for others the role of "consultants" without rights.

'Democratic Transformations' Noted in Estonia
LD2807194789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1330 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Since the beginning of this week the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet regular session has been held in Tallinn. The first working day was a full one. Included on the agenda were the following questions. First, the question of republican financial autonomy, the concepts and basis of which were adopted on 18 May. The second extremely important question is connected with the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its secret protocols. Most attention among the other points on the agenda was attracted by the question of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Law on Elections of Local Soviets and Estonian SSR People's Deputies. However, they did not manage to complete the discussion of that law on the 1st day. Part of the Russian-speaking deputies proposed that the decision on the law should not be introduced and that they should have the opportunity to consult their electorate. The majority of deputies then agreed to grant the wishes of the minority. It was decided to interrupt the discussion of that point on the agenda and to continue it in the course of the next 2 weeks. Not everyone in our town was prepared to correctly evaluate that compromise step. This is what Dr Mikl Titma, a participant in the session, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, had to say about it.

[Begin Titma recording] The main result of this session was probably the transition to a new level of democratic conducting of politics in the republic. Whereas as from the beginning the issue was a sufficiently well known one for the union auditorium, in order for the local soviets to make decisions normally with a majority of votes, now it is a question of how to guarantee the interests and sometimes the will of the minority. This is, you see, the essence of democracy. In the given case, since the minority are not by their nationality of the Estonian population, their deputies expressed a certain reluctance to vote in connection with the new law on the election of local soviets. It was decided to resume the session in a week or within 2 weeks to adopt this law. The law does really have a principle-based significance. It lays special stress on the local community as the basis of society to that real social control on the part of the community would regulate our social life. Naturally, some forces were not

prepared for such a political compromise and these forces had already planned strikes; at the present time strikes are being held in Tallinn. Approximately ten enterprises were affected yesterday. Today there are still four enterprises on strike. Here they decided to influence the normal political process by strong-arm methods. Naturally, a method of political struggle like that is extreme. It is understandable if the minority has no other form of action but in the given case the situation is not like that. These strikes are in many ways a question of the political existence of the strike committees, which have been functioning for 4 months now, but did not in actual fact hold strikes. Perhaps the extreme wing of the Intermovement in order to have some kind of social basis [as heard]. Basis is disappearing, one can see that, and we have sufficient grounds for saying that the Russian-speaking population on the whole in the republic is far from upholding such forms of struggle and does in principle, for example, agree with the principles of settlement as the definite criteria for taking part in elections. [end recording]

That interview was given to our radio station by Mikk Titma yesterday and therefore it is possible that the number of collectives taking part in the strike has changed by this hour. It is important to note yet again that the strikers were by no means expressing the view of the whole Russian-speaking population. The greater part of the Russian-speaking population in the republic upholds the democratic transformations in Estonia and shares the concern of the indigenous inhabitants for the fate of the language, culture, and ecology of this land.

Ligachev Visits Astrakhan Oblast 1-4 Aug

LD0408225989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] From 1-4 August Comrade Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in Astrakhan Oblast. Accompanied by oblast leaders, he examined the progress of fulfillment of the decisions of the March 1989 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the development of the oblast's agro-industrial complex, and the implementation of social programs in the town and countryside.

The secretary of the CPSU Central committee visited a number of collective and state farms in the oblast. The problems of transporting agricultural produce were discussed at the Lineynaya railway procurement point. Comrade Ligachev visited the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Irrigated Vegetable and Melon cultivation, and the enterprises of this sphere (?in the oblast center). Measures to increase production of vegetables, fruit, and melons and gourds, and to improve supplies of these to the country's industrial centers were discussed at a conference held in Astrakhan. Lively conversations took place with inhabitants of the oblast centre and villages and hamlets of the oblast, and of fishing villages.

All the efforts of the oblast party organization and of local soviet and economic organs, Comrade Ligachev underlined, should be directed toward improving people's lives: this is the main aim of perestroika. A conversation took place with members of the of the CPSU oblast committee bureau during which there was discussion of the work of party organizations in modern conditions.

Volga Germans' Reasons for Emigrating Viewed

18001357 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 12 Jul 89 p 9

[Report by N. Barabanova: "A Group Portrait Against the Background of the Red Cross"]

[Text] This is not a photograph taken to remember a joint vacation or tour. Here, perhaps, the mood is not the same, the faces are too serious. In the background of the snapshot is a low structure bearing a sign with a red cross and the inscription "Home of the German Red Cross." Who are these people? "About 200 Russian emigrants arrive each day at the border transit point of Friedland. Here each of them receives 200 marks for pocket money, clothing, and a new passport," it says in the text under the photograph.

But what has caused the "Russian emigrants" to reject their "old" passports and abandon the Soviet Union, the land where their ancestors lived as early as the times of "Mother Katherine"? The emigrants were asked this question by correspondents of the West German weekly KWIK, which published this group photograph.

The people had various answers.

"I do not even like to recall it," sighs the 73-year-old Paulina Trippel from the Kirghiz village of Takmak. Paulina, like her husband Avraam, belongs to a strict puritanical Protestant sect, and nothing on earth is more important to her than the freedom to practice her religion. "We went to church in secret," the old woman says, "and we lived in constant fear that we would share the fate of the head of our community, who was thrown in jail for 5 years because of his faith." Paulina and her husband are convinced that in the FRG they "will be able to serve their God freely," and for them there is nothing more important than this.

"We shall never forget that we are Germans," says Valdemar Vagner, who came to Friedland with his wife and eight children (the ninth is on the way). Like all members of his family, and like the Boshman family who occupy the next room at the transit point, Valdemar has a warm response to the head of the Soviet state: "Mikhail Gorbachev is a good person, but there are no guarantees that another Stalin will not appear tomorrow." Perhaps it is this fear and not the "voice of his blood relatives" that was the reason for Vagner's departure from the Soviet Union?

Albert Ryub from the city of Tamirtau in Kazakhstan, who at one time was exiled along with all the other Germans from his home village of Hoffnungstal, near Odessa, decided to leave 30 years ago. But only now has his petition—his fifteenth—been granted. "Nothing has changed in Russia in the meantime," thinks Albert, whose opinion is shared by his wife and three sons.

Quite a different response was received from Mariya Antov, who is not oppressed by the harsh recollections of repressive measures or fear of the return of Stalinism. This 40-year-old woman, who held a good job in Tallinn and, in the words of KWIK, was on the "threshold of the nomenklatura," frankly told the correspondents that she is living well but wants to live better: "The grass is greener on the other side of the fence."

Will the West German grass really be greener for Mariya Antov? If not, to be honest, we shall not be distressed. But we sincerely sympathize with the Trippel, Vagner, Boshman, and Ryud families if their new homeland does not justify their hopes. Are they aware of the difficulties that await them in the country whose language, customs, and traditions they do not know? Do they have any idea of the obstacles that stand in their way and about which the West German press writes so openly, stating that the process of assimilation of Russian Germans, particularly elderly people, is difficult, sometimes painful, and sometimes even tragic.

The people in the photograph are casting searching looks at their objective, as though they are hoping to see in it, as in a magic crystal, what the future holds for them.

We are successfully mastering the principles of the new thinking and we already know that we cannot deny man the right to select the country in which he lives. We wish our former compatriots all the best and shall be hoping that as a result of the democratic restructuring of all spheres of our life, the negative phenomena that cause people to seek happiness far from their homeland will disappear forever.

Situation Appraised After Donetsk Strike
18220183 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by G. Dorofeyev: "Life After the Strike"]

[Text] Miners of the Donbass left the city squares and hoisted the first thousand tonnes of coal. However, life did not return to its former state at all coal enterprises. And this, apparently, was simply not possible. The strike gave rise to new forms of managing mine production. Strike committees continue to function. They have been given substantial rights. On their decision, reelections to the STK [strike committee] are designated and the chairmen of trade union organizations are reelected. They can express distrust of the managers of enterprises and party workers.

Is this good or bad? Many say that it is very good, because the strike committees will remove many bureaucrats. But will they be able to do this? One recalls V.I. Lenin's note to M. Sokolov, who complained about the difficulty of fighting bureaucracy. "The independent action of the masses," he wrote to V.I. Lenin, "will be possible only when that abscess which is called bureaucratic departments and centers is wiped from the face of the earth."

In reply to this, V.I. Lenin wrote: "It is impossible to 'get rid' of an abscess of this kind. It can only be treated. Surgery is absurd in this case, an impossibility; only slow treatment—the rest is charlatanism or naivete..."

It is naive to throw up your hands at treatment, referring to the fact that you tried 2-3 times to fight with bureaucracy and suffered defeat. First, I reply to your unfortunate experience—first, you have to try not 2-3 times but 20-30 times, repeat, and start at the beginning.

Second, where is it shown that you fought properly and skillfully? Bureaucrats are dodgers, and many of them are scoundrels and crafty old foxes. You will not take them with your bare hands. Did you defend yourself properly? Did you follow all the rules of military art to surround the "enemy?" I do not know.

It is naive to hope that the new strike committees are proficient in such an art. I was on a square in Donetsk when the city strike committee was elected for negotiations with a government commission. A person comes up to the microphone, gives his name, and says:

"Comrades! I do not work anywhere now, but if you will let me protect your interests, then I am ready to do this."

Friendly applause followed and a new member of the strike committee was elected. Then someone made a proposal to add one more person from all of mines to the committee. This was also agreed to amicably by everyone. In the process of the negotiations themselves, the members of the city strike committee were changed several times. Now, when the strike is over, they are trying to make out who is who. In my view, the Donetsk strike committee acted very properly by submitting a request to the miners' collectives to confirm the authority of their representatives on the committee.

The matter is no better when it comes to the strike councils of enterprises. They stirred up the people and led them to the square. But will they be able to manage production and resolve technical and technological problems? At a press conference which was held in the obkom [oblast party committee] on the second day after the strike, B. Kachura, secretary of the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party related this episode. In one of the associations, members of the strike committee came to him with a demand to permit them to take over the coal enterprise.

"I did not object," said Boris Vasilyevich, "but I warned that if they intend to manage in the whole association, then they should assume full responsibility for its condition, including criminal responsibility."

The members of the strike committee did not agree to this, and they approached the problem from another angle. Let the specialists bear the responsibility for the state of affairs in the enterprises and throughout the association, but they all must be subordinate only to the strike committee and execute its instructions.

"I said," continued B. Kachura, "that in that case the strike committee must come to an agreement with the specialists. Whether they come to an agreement is their business. If they do not agree, we cannot force them."

Nonetheless, dispute situations between mine management and the strike committees are arising at many coal enterprises. The director was not permitted to speak at the first duty detail in the "Oktyabrskoye" mine office. For some reason the miners did not like the fact that he made a comment to them: During the strike, the combine in the 11th sector was not turned off, and this could lead to serious consequences. They also did not accept his demand to be more attentive in the first post-strike period, when the mine was idle for several days. In this case, obstructions and a heavy accumulation of gas in individual mine workings were possible. In response, there was whistling and hooting. The director left the detail.

It is true that on that day members of the strike committee came to him with an apology. However, it was not possible to smoothe over the awkwardness.

Ye. Zvyagilskiy, the director of the Zasyadko Mine, spoke about this:

"I stopped issuing orders for the violation of work and production discipline. And I very vaguely imagine what contacts I am supposed to have with the strike committee. At present, each of us is working on his own. And they can always say that I am a bureaucrat and that I am a burden to the workers." The Zasyadko mine is the foremost mine not only in the Donbass but in the industry. Yefim Leonidovich was one of the first in the Donbass to start building dwellings in an economic way. Housewarmings are held here annually for 100-120 miners' families. An excellent dining hall, snack bar, and an administrative-living complex were built at the mine.

I recall how last year Ye. Zvyagilskiy turned to our Donetsk korpunkt [correspondent's office] with a request to help him take a lagging sovkhoz [state farm] on his account. Then we went together to the rayon and resolved the question through our joint efforts with great difficulty. The mine took the lagging sovkhoz, which had 5,000 hectares of land, on its account.

"This year," says Yefim Leonidovich, "we took away a grain harvest. When we were collecting the grain, it gladdened the heart. I planned to set up new farms, and to develop cattle breeding and poultry farming. But now I cannot bring myself to do it. I am embarrassed and it pains me. I earned my keep honestly, and I do not think that I am a burden to anyone...."

Indeed, I myself heard how the managers of enterprises and party and soviet workers were called bureaucrats, functionaries, and various other insulting names during the strike. I will not intercede for all of them. However, in my view it was absolutely inappropriate to number among the bureaucrats, for example, the name of V. Ilyushenko, the general director of the "Donetskugol" production association. He started as a mine foreman. He resolves technical and technological problems competently. This year the enterprises of "Donetskugol" had on their account more than 400,000 tonnes of above-plan fuel.

The association builds 500-550 apartments annually on its own. Of course, this clearly is not enough. But now a program has been worked out to increase construction in the near future by one and a half to two times. For this purpose, the association has built a plant to produce 10 million bricks. Thirty thousand cubic meters of reinforced concrete articles of all kinds are produced. There are carpentry and plumbing shops. However, the more apartments that are built with local resources, that much less are erected for miners by Minstroy [Ministry of Construction] on a shared funds basis.

On the second day after the end of the strike, I met Valentin Grigoryevich. He was still alarmed and agitated.

"But why do they call me a bureaucrat?" he asked me. "You see, this is what happens: We accept the necessary resolutions, but we do not support them financially. Take the salaries of miners for day work and night work. To decide this question, it was necessary to take a large sum from the state budget. They did not give the money. But the document was accepted, and everyone thinks: There are good uncles in the USSR Minugleprom [Ministry of the Coal Industry] who take care of the working class, but, below, the bureaucrats suppress the workers and damage perestroika..."

The miners resolved many of the pressing problems during the strike. This instilled in them the confidence that they can independently, without the participation of specialists, handle all of the other problems as well. Apparently, this is causing them to break away from and not recognize enterprise managers. However, this is an obvious overestimate of their capabilities. We will not forget that we are dealing with a "mountain," and it does not like to joke around. It is only through joint and amicable work, supported by the experience and knowledge of specialists, that it will be possible to revitalize the Donbass and the entire coal industry.

Ukraine Party Official Dies, Buried 6 Aug
LD0708130489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 07 Aug 89

[Text] Communists and working people of Rovno Oblast saw Taras Ivanovich Panasenko, first secretary of Rovno Obkom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and USSR people's deputy, off on his last journey on 6 August. The room containing the coffin bearing the body of the deceased was decked out in mourning. There were numerous wreaths in the room. One of them came from the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers. The awards which marked the services of Comrade Panasenko to the Communist Party and the Soviet State were laid out on scarlet velvet. A funeral service was held at the cemetery where Taras Ivanovich Panasenko was buried.

'Emotional Outbursts' Mark Moldavian Rally
PM1707141389 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 27 Jun 89 p 3

[ATEM report: "Rally in Kishinev"]

[Text] People in their thousands attended an authorized rally organized by the Moldavian People's Front in Kishinev's Victory Square 25 June. The rally's organizers announced two problems as the rally's topic: The consequences of Stalinist policy for the Moldavian people's destiny, and the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on problems of interethnic relations.

By 1400 hours the square was full of columns of people carrying tricolor flags with black bands tied to them, black flags, and a multitude of posters, the most typical of which read: "Moldavians—Indigenous Residents of the Moldavian Land," "We Are at Home," "Sovereignty," "Language, Alphabet," "1812 Was the Year When Bessarabia Was Torn From Moldavia," "Ascent to Mountains, Access to the Sea," "Republican Leadership From National Cadres," "Write Statehood, Latin Origins, and Identity Into the Constitution," and "We Demand Legalization for the People's Front."

...A minute's silence was observed in memory of the victims of Stalin's repressions. I.K. Chobanu, chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR people's deputy, and first secretary of the republic's Writers Union Board, mounted the rostrum. The fact that many key documents containing historical truth are still not known to the public is incompatible with the policy of glasnost, he stressed. This injustice must be corrected. Having touched in this context on problems associated with the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, I.K. Chobanu reminded the audience that a Commission for Political and Legal Appraisal of the 1939 Soviet-German Nonaggression Treaty set up by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies is now at work. Its purpose is to comprehensively

appraise this document and the events associated with it. Moldavian Deputies I.P. Drutse and G.I. Yeremey are taking part in the commission's work.

The speaker spoke of the need to restore justice as regards all victims of repressions during the personality cult years as soon as possible, to rehabilitate all innocent victims, and to erect in the republic a monument perpetuating the memory of those people. He also dwelt on the problems of expanding Moldavia's economic autonomy and developing its culture and language, emphasizing that the republic's residents must feel that they are its proper masters.

In his capacity as chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the speaker announced that the republic's supreme legislative organ will soon examine at one of its sessions the draft laws on languages which have been the subject of nationwide discussion for a long time now.

The ideas and suggestions expressed by I.K. Chobanu were supported by V.A. Vinebryachya, member of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other speakers.

At the same time, many speeches went further than just words of sorrow about the victims of Stalin's repressions, further than just calls to eliminate "blank spots" in history. The rally at times heard subjectivist and by no means indisputable views on problems of Moldavian history and evaluations referring to its present. The words "occupation" and "annexation" were repeatedly heard when evaluating events in 1812, 1918, and 1940. For example, Historian I. Tsurkanu raised doubts about the actual establishment of Soviet power in the region following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He claimed that the government formed in 1940 did not change its nature in the following years; whatever we had at that time exists to this day, he declared.

A. Shalaru, leader of the A. Mateyevich Club, said that the Russian empire was the most insolent, greediest, and bloodiest of all the empires that ever oppressed the Moldavian land. He described 28 June 1940 as the cornerstone of all the Moldavian people's ills.

Emotional and agitated speeches were delivered at the rally by USSR People's Deputies poets I. Khadyrke and L. Lari, who spoke with anguish about the consequences of the personality cult policy for the Moldavian people. Unfortunately, however, they also failed to refrain from making unconsidered and groundless statements. I. Khadyrke, for example, said that a date like 28 June should not be celebrated as a holiday. L. Lari remains committed to the opinion that the policy of inviting outside specialists to the republic pursued here for decades resulted in the indigenous population being without housing or foodstuffs, living in poverty "as in tsarist times."

In this context, one would like to remind people of the wise words spoken at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies by movie director R. Bykov: "According to the situation which prevails in the country, we shall realize that we have contributed to everything that is good and to everything that is bad." The only point to be made is this: Not only in the country but also in the republic. A correct thought! Henceforth, the people's deputies will bear their own considerable share of responsibility for everything good and for everything bad that is happening and is going to happen to us. Therefore they must be especially acutely aware of the effect their words will have on people's minds and souls and what actions they will prompt.

One would also like to comment on the slogan "Republican Leadership From National Cadres," which was heard in speeches and seen on posters. Facts testify that there are no grounds at all to pose the question in this fashion. Bearing in mind that Moldavians constitute 63.9 percent of the republic's population, they account for 75.5 percent of party city and rayon committee first secretaries, 68.5 percent of city and rayon soviet executive committee chairmen, and 64.2 percent of the republic's Supreme Soviet deputies. There were 55 USSR people's deputies elected from Moldavia, of whom 40—72.7 percent—are Moldavians. The Supreme Soviet Presidium's chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and department chiefs are all Moldavians. Moldavians account for 71.4 percent of the persons holding the positions of chairman and deputy chairmen of the republic's Council of Ministers. They account for 73.3 percent of members and candidate members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

If the statements are approached calmly and without prejudice, setting aside the emotional outbursts which abounded at the rally, it must be noted that the speeches produced quite a few totally unsubstantiated attacks and accusations against the republic's leadership and, at the same time, there was no trace of constructive proposals which could be used as a basis for solving existing problems jointly with the government and more swiftly advancing perestroika.

No resolution was adopted outlining a program of specific actions or containing proposals which could be used during preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations. And yet this was the topic submitted for discussion by rally participants.

In the conditions of perestroika, which was launched at the CPSU's initiative, it is only logical that the people's activeness should be awakened. Unsponsored social formations are operating increasingly actively in this direction. But this activeness must be aimed at construction and not at destruction, at implementing the decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. This is the spirit in which it is necessary to act, without allowing diktat, violence, or suppression of dissidence.

As regards the rally's organization, proper order was maintained there on the whole. There were no emergencies or breaches of public order.

The rally was attended by N.A. Tsyu, first secretary of Kishinev Party City Committee; V.G. Dobrya, chairman of Kishinev City Soviet Executive Committee; and other leaders of party and society organs from the republic's capital.

Disruption of Moldavian Festivities Deplored

PM1707140789 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Jul 89 p 3

[ATEM report: "Using the People's Interests as Camouflage"]

[Text] For over 40 years now, this day has been traditionally celebrated by the whole people as a holiday marking Bessarabia's liberation and its reunification with Soviet Russia. This year the holiday acquired new and special overtones. The Moldavian people and working people of all nationalities living in the republic greeted it in an atmosphere of growing expansion and deepening of the processes of democratization and glasnost in Soviet society's life. They greeted it while still under the influence of the work of the recent Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session now being held in Moscow, both of which affirmed the irreversibility of these processes before the whole world. They greeted it in the proud knowledge that their region's destiny is associated with the destiny of the entire great country, the destiny of perestroika.

Motivated by these feelings, people assembled in their thousands at gala concerts, theater shows, meetings with eyewitnesses of the events, veterans, and propaganda workers, and art and photography exhibitions held in Beltsy, Tiraspol, Bendery, Kagul, Soroki, Ungeny, and other rayon centers and many villages in Moldavia. It must also be said that urban and rural working people everywhere spoke with satisfaction about the recent Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolution "On the Fate of Bessarabia's Communist Organization and Its Members Following the Region's Reunification With the Soviet Motherland in June 1940," which restored a fair appraisal of the Bessarabian Communist underground and rehabilitated its members.

The Leninskiy Rayon culture and sports complex had prepared an extensive program for celebrations in Kishinev's 28 June Street. It included a show of newsreels and documentary movies, a meeting with veterans of the Bessarabian Communist underground, a look into the past with the help of museum exhibits, performances by children's, adolescents', and adults' amateur artistic collectives, an exhibition of articles and paintings made by kindergarten pupils, flower arrangement displays, and sundry fairs.

But the celebration in Kishinev was seriously marred and essentially wrecked by the actions of elements with extremist leanings which, heeding the appeal issued by Moldavian People's Front (MPF) leaders at last Sunday's rally, celebrated the occasion "in their own fashion." The gala concert by the republic's masters of the arts, scheduled to be held in the "Oktombriye" Palace, was also wrecked. And this happened despite the fact that, during a meeting with MPF leaders the day before, representatives of the authorities asked them to restrain their supporters from taking such actions. Judging by what happened, they ignored this request and did nothing to avoid preventing the crowds of Kishinev residents from participating in the celebration events. Rather, the opposite happened. An organizing hand could be felt everywhere. Proof of this was seen in the flags, mourning bands, torches, and the banners and posters distorting the event's historic importance—all prepared beforehand—and in the route taken by the procession, which was deliberately given a funereal overtone.

Actually, an unauthorized march was held in Kishinev last Wednesday [28 June]. Its provocative nature was indicated by a black banner held above the participants' heads, which read: "The Celebration of 28 June Is an Act of Disgrace for the Moldavian People." That was not the first time that MPF leaders and those who heed their calls have ignored the provisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 28 July 1988 decree "On Procedures for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR." On this occasion, however, a sense of perplexity can be added to the indignation over their latest act of willfulness. It was, after all, only 3 days earlier that the MPF held an authorized rally to express its point of view on many issues, including the occasion of this anniversary. Thus it did hold its own "street party." So why did it have to wreck the celebration in 28 June Street and the "Oktombriye" Palace and obstruct people for whom this was really a festive and joyful occasion? These people did not gather there by force—as the informals try to claim—but of their own free will. This was because that day in 1940 was a day of genuine nationwide joy at deliverance from the bonds of slavery, terror, and colonial plunder and the liberation of political prisoners from the dungeons of the political police and the Doftana [as transliterated; allusion unknown]. Many, very many people hold sacred the memory of this day and hand it down to their descendants. All this actually happened!

But, in response to these seemingly irrefutable arguments put forward by some of those gathered in 28 June Street, one could hear malicious shouts: "Stalinism claimed just as many victims." But Stalinism has irrevocably receded into the past, and was long ago condemned by the party. Today is there any point in using these really dark pages of the whole country's history to erase the socialist gains of our region's working people and to throw the baby out with the bathwater? And how can anyone idealize the prewar history of Bessarabia, which lived through the nightmare of an occupation lasting 22 years?

If the MPF leaders and supporters lack anything, it is tolerance for different opinions. This is why copies of Soviet documents of that time were pushed off the museum stands. This is why a malicious "No" was heard in reply to the Moldavian artists' invitation to Kishinev's residents to take their seats in the "Oktombriye" Palace auditorium. An invitation which they extended despite telephoned threats and persistent refusals to attend the concert. And that was why there were clashes in some places between informals and citizens protesting the wrecking of the festivities.

This is why it is so difficult to describe this march as a "peaceful funereal procession." Yes, candles were burning, there were black bands tied to flags or worn by people around their heads or pinned to their clothes. But the actions and faces of those people displayed as much malicious glee as they did sorrow. While mourning, they were jubilant for having succeeded in turning 28 June Street into a street for one-way political traffic.

Downright rejection of any dissidence and the countering of dissidence by antidemocratic methods are becoming increasingly noticeable in the views and actions of People's Front leaders and supporters. Hiding beneath slogans for democracy, they persistently demand that all people and organizations accept their opinion, which is held to be the only correct one and, moreover, to be "the opinion of the people." The principle of "Whoever is not with us is against us," which is impermissible in a genuinely democratic society and which cost the lives of thousands of victims of repressions, can now be perceived in the slogans proclaiming a number of scientists "persona non grata" in Moldavia for having written in the republican press to express an opinion different from that of participants in MPF rallies. Whatever happened to their commitment to pluralism or to the thought—so often repeated whenever official organs are discussed—that ideas can be combated only by ideas and not by strongarm pressure? Such defamation of people is reminiscent more of a "witch hunt" than of commitment to the principle of pluralism. If a desire to subordinate the majority to the minority, suppressing all dissidence in the process, is to be observed anywhere, it is at rallies of this kind.

A sense of anxiety is ever-present among Kishinev's residents today. What guarantee is there that the groups which roam the streets and squares do not contain people who, given the opportunity, would stop at nothing to suppress their opponents? Human dignity, freedom, and rights are absolute values. People feel no better in the knowledge that they are being treated violently, trampled in the mud, swept out of the way, and even destroyed for the sake of some "lofty" ideas. Violence is violence, regardless of the camouflage it dons. The following can be heard at rallies: "Such-and-such and so-and-so are enemies of the Moldavian people." History has taught us only too well what happened when this label was attached to people.

We strive to protect ourselves from the fatal effects of enhanced radiation or excessive nitrate dosages. There is, however, a much greater danger threatening us, to be found in the excessive concentration of malice and hatred in some people's souls. The malice of those who wrecked the 28 June festivities was clearly visible to the naked eye. Where could it all lead? Everything indicates that actions by ambitious individuals, playing up to people's national sentiments and supposedly speaking on behalf of the people, could produce irreparable consequences for that people. We all must ponder this. Today nobody can evade personal responsibility for the situation in the republic, for its normal development, and for people's tranquility.

Why is it that the informals' leaders refuse to influence the participants in unauthorized rallies and to help normalize the situation? Two conclusions come to mind: Either they cannot do this, which means that the genie they have released from the bottle is no longer under their control and could cause quite a few evils, or they are unwilling to do it and are "washing their hands" in the expectation that such actions will pay them certain political dividends. Both of these are equally dangerous and have nothing in common with the "support for perestroika" of which MPF leaders boast. One would think that the following question is also appropriate: Has anyone repealed the constitutional provision about the individual responsibility borne by Soviet people, to whom the leaders of informal organizations belong, for their actions?

There is another dangerous trend today—the silence by authorities, and generally by all who are unwilling to succumb to provocative calls for strikes, disobedience, and disorder. Many are reluctant to openly argue with the informals, aware of their intolerance and consequently unwilling to submit themselves to insults and humiliation. But the time has probably come for all of society's healthy forces to realize that silence in the present situation can also be interpreted as acceptance of extremist slogans and appeals.

Both republican and local authorities obviously underestimate the potential and sphere of influence of people with extremist leanings who are engaged in targeted and rigid ideological and psychological conditioning of citizens, primarily young people. The recent tragic events in a number of USSR regions show yet again what can happen when the demands concerning strict observance of the laws, conscientious discipline, and organization are disregarded. And even the essence of a rule-of-law state, of which the informals talk so much nowadays, boils down primarily to rigorous observance of the laws, which protect not only the citizens but also the state itself. Not some abstract protection, not protection in general, but strict and specific protection with a clearly defined borderline between what is and what is not permitted. The concept of a rule-of-law state demands a democratic but firm criminal law policy when it comes to breaches of the law. This is especially necessary today,

when there is rising crime in the country and in our republic, when new varieties of organized crime are emerging—mafia, terrorism, racketeering, and others. Democracy is not tantamount to weakness of authority.

But these reflections should not be perceived as nostalgia for a military-totalitarian regime. Today we need, more than ever before, calm and constructive dialogue between all social movements in the republic and their consolidation.

...Today we talk a lot about the priority of universal human values, civilization, and tolerance. But for some reason we associate this with international affairs. Yet now it is more important than ever before to cultivate these values also inside our country, to nurture the awareness that we are first and foremost people and only then Moldavians or Russians, Ukrainians or Gagauz. And consequently, we must behave like civilized human beings.

Report Views Belorussian Central Committee Plenum
PM1707123589 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 23 Jun 89 p 1

["Information Report on Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"—SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA headline]

[Text] The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee 13th Plenum was held 22 June.

The plenum discussed the question "On Enhancing the Influence of Party Committees and Organizations on the Sociopolitical Situation in the Republic at the Present Stage of Perestroika."

Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau's report on this question.

The following took part in the discussion of the report: V.P. Polyachenok, fitter and assembly worker at the Minsk S.M. Kirov Production Association for the Manufacture of Broaching and Cutting Machine Tools; A.F. Lashkov, first secretary of the Brest Belorussian Communist Party Gorkom [City Committee]; T.G. Kot, first secretary of the Tsentralnyy Belorussian Communist Party Raykom [Rayon Committee], Mogilev City; A.A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Minsk Belorussian Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Committee]; V.S. Selitskiy, first secretary of the Mozyr Belorussian Communist Party Gorkom; M.F. Lavrinovich, general director of the Belorussian Association for the Production of "BelavtoMAZ" Heavy Duty Trucks; V.I. Burskiy, chairman of the Brest Oblast Soviet Executive Committee; V.V. Kudlash, first secretary of the Belorussian Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee; G.N. Buravkin, chairman of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; I.G. Moshko, second secretary of the

Grodno Belorussian Communist Party Obkom; V.A. Piskarev, Belorussian minister of internal affairs; V.G. Galko, first secretary of the Minsk Belorussian Communist Party Gorkom; A.Ye. Andreyev, chairman of the republic War and Labor Veterans Council; V.V. Grigoryev, first secretary of the Vitebsk Belorussian Communist Party Obkom; M.F. Kantorovich, first secretary of the Zelvenskiy Belorussian Communist Party Raykom; R.P. Platonov, director of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute; and N.F. Grinev, second secretary of the Mogilev Belorussian Communist Party Obkom.

A resolution was adopted on the question discussed.

The plenum discussed an organizational matter.

V.M. Shuralev was released from his duties as member of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his leaving the republic. V.V. Gurin was released from his duties as candidate member of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his transfer to other work.

In connection with the formation of a newly structured Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus in line with the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the plenum approved the following heads of Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee departments: V.I. Boris, head of the Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department; S.Ye. Pavlov, head of the Ideology Department; B.A. Makeychenko, head of the Socioeconomic Department; V.D. Bysenko, head of the Machine-Building Department; N.G. Voytenkov, head of the Agrarian Department; V.O. Sukalo, head of the State and Legal Department; and G.G. Yershov, head of the General Department. The plenum approved V.T. Golovan as chairman of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission and V.L. Pavlyukevich as Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee administrator of affairs.

G.P. Meshcheryakov, senior organizer of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, and M.A. Machulenko, an instructor from this department, took part in the plenum.

The plenum documents will be published in the press.

Baku Special Region Official Interviewed
PM1707134389 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY
in Russian 1 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Major General N.F. Zubkov, chief of the Baku City Special Region Political Department, by AZERINFORM correspondents A. Guseynov and M. Aliyev, under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Protecting the Socialist Fatherland"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The Army and the people. This eternal subject has had new and unseen aspects illuminated in the period of the revolutionary transformation of our society. The

help given by Soviet servicemen in clearing up the natural disasters in Armenia and Tajikistan, the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station disaster, and the Bashkirian train crash and in normalizing the situation in different parts of our country has been invaluable. Even at the most difficult times the Army's links with the people were not broken. This has also been the case in Baku, where a special situation has been introduced.

Major General N.F. Zubkov, chief of the Baku City Special Region Political Department, shared his opinion with AZERINFORM correspondents on the quality of the current ties between servicemen and our republic's population.

[Correspondents] Nikolay Fedorovich, it is well known that the successful resolution of the tasks facing the Army depends to a considerable extent on the nature of mutual contacts between servicemen and the local population. How do servicemen find service in Azerbaijan?

[Zubkov] I have a long military career behind me. I have served in the Baltic republics, Siberia, and, finally, the Transcaucasus. I have lived among various peoples of our immense motherland, but my relations with them have always been good.

I have known Azerbaijan for a long time, and not at second hand. I served here back in 1978. I left the republic 2 years later—I was appointed chief of the Novosibirsk Higher Military Political College named for the 60th anniversary of October. This is now the 5th year that I've been back in Azerbaijan. I've felt that the local population's attitude to servicemen and to me personally has been nothing but good-natured. It is gratifying that all inhabitants of Azerbaijan respect men in uniform from their childhood. Here is a small example: There is a village called Abrakunis in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Military patriotic education there is organized in a way that any city would envy. Servicemen have helped to build a magnificent military sports complex and firing range. It is worth noting that many graduates of the school there later enter the Nakhichevanskiy Boarding School—the forge of future national officer cadres. Upstart skeptics can grumble about some kind of "militarization of young people" as much as they like, I think that this education helps to make future men out of kids. There are different ways of looking at everything.

In our work we rely on the support of the republic leadership. Our meetings are specific and businesslike, rather than just a formality. Thus quite recently, on Victory Day, all members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, party rayon committee first secretaries, and rayon executive committee chairmen visited military units. They talked with the officers, warrant officers, and men and inquired about their service, leisure problems, and plans after they are discharged. Such meetings were held systematically. Trade union and Leninist Communist Youth League

workers and working people from Baku and other cities and villages in the republic are also frequent guests of the servicemen. And these meetings are always held in a friendly atmosphere—the problems of the country and Army have been and continue to be linked—they should not be artificially separated.

[Correspondents] The region has essentially been tense for more than a year. And military units have had to take measures to prevent violence and ensure calm. This has been ensured in most of Azerbaijan. But, at the same time, outside the republic the Army's interference in certain cases has regrettably led to unjustified attacks on it. How has this affected the Army's relations with the population?

[Zubkov] This is a complex question and there is no one answer to it. In November last year, when a special situation was introduced in Baku and a number of the republic's rayons, people's feelings varied. There was both condemnation and approval. But one thing that I would like to note without fail is that the Army and the people have done everything to ensure that a "wedge of alienation" is not driven between them. The desire for unity with the Army has been and continues to be present in most of the population and in the republic's leadership. People took food out to the soldiers guarding crossroads and put red carnations in the tank barrels. Local leaders organized free deliveries of newspapers for the servicemen, and the trade unions provided TV sets for those relaxing off duty. And on New Year's Eve little fir trees were lit up on all the vehicles that were on duty: People strove for contact, particularly the mothers. After all, each one of them wanted to understand through these other people's sons standing in Baku's streets in their overcoats just how their own sons were currently feeling far from home. Perhaps they were also carrying out their duty as soldiers and citizens in some other corner of the country, and these soldiers' mothers were giving them treats.

We must pay tribute to the internationalist servicemen who are a kind of link between the Army and the people. They have always been alongside the soldiers in the hottest of hotspots.

How many propaganda workers in military uniform have gone to the people with local party workers and explained the situation without ducking the toughest questions? I personally worked at the Lieutenant Shmidt Plant along with my group. Things there were hard. But I was able to see for myself for the umpteenth time that our working class is strong and organized. The discussions with them were useful for both sides.

[Correspondents] Our Army is equipped with high-quality modern equipment, military collectives are disciplined and prepared to carry out not just combat tasks. Such a force could be of considerable assistance to the national economy...

[Zubkov] That is an age-old subject. Traditionally the troops and their machines take part in the harvest each year. They help to build social projects and housing. If this is necessary we will naturally not refuse. But to be frank, this is not quite correct. Now, of course, the country needs help—the economy is in a difficult position... But there is a rule that the Army fights during a war and learns to fight during peacetime. Everyone should do their own job. The Army's function is to protect the people's peaceful work and lives. The Army should be involved only in emergencies—as was the case during the Chernobyl disaster, the Armenian earthquake, and the Bashkirian rail crash. In such cases its mobility and organization are simply irreplaceable.

The Army has its own problems. It is part of society, and all society's ills cannot fail to affect it too.

We are learning to work more openly, and we have started making contact more boldly with labor collectives and being bolder in inviting them to visit us. And this will help us to carry out our main task—defending our people and our socialist fatherland.

Article Examines Drawbacks of 'Confederation'

PM0708164589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Academician Yu. Bromley under the "Discussion Tribune" rubric: "Federation or Confederation?"]

[Text] Moscow—The debate that has unfolded in PRAVDA around the constitutional foundations of our common home and thus around its future destiny ultimately boils down to this alternative [federation or confederation]. The article "Federative Union" (PRAVDA 12 August 1989) sparked this debate. Its authors' stance is quite clear: They oppose the transformation of our country into a confederation, that is, into an interstate union in which its members fully retain their independence, creating only special joint bodies on treaty foundations to coordinate actions for certain purposes (military, foreign policy, and so on).

However, the following question may arise: Is the actual expression "federative union" right at all, since the opinion that a "union" is one thing and a "federation" is another can sometimes be encountered. In this connection it is evidently in order to point out that the very term "federation" stems from the Late Latin word "foederatio" meaning "union, association." The question of the forms of the union, which can be of both a federative and a confederative nature, is another matter.

Let me also recall that members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and representatives of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] (R. Gudaytis and B. Genzylis) and the Estonian SSR (I. Gryazin) opposed the article "Federative Union." Their letters to the PRAVDA editorial office were published under the "Discussion Tribune" rubric on 26 July; that is, on the day the USSR

Supreme Soviet discussed the draft law on transferring the Lithuanian and Estonian SSR's to economic independence. Evidently, one must not rule out the fact that the writers of these letters had the last word in the central press while the draft law in question was being discussed.

The authors of the first of these published letters adopted, figuratively speaking, a largely defensive stance. They claim that no one in Lithuania has ever discussed the idea of confederation seriously or has put forward or is putting forward demands to reconclude the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR. However, the contrary assertion contained in the article which they criticize by no means lacks substantiation. It is backed up by a number of references to blatant calls for the federative ties with the USSR to be severed—calls voiced in statements made by certain leaders of the Baltic republics' people's fronts. This was also mentioned at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, incidentally. So I will confine myself merely to recalling that the Baltic Peoples' Assembly (Tallinn, 14 May 1989)—that is, a quite serious forum (involving plenipotentiary representatives of "Sayudis")—adopted a resolution calling on the heads of the CSCE participant states and the UN secretary general to react with proper understanding to the desire of these peoples for self-determination and independence within a neutral and demilitarized zone. An extensive campaign is now being conducted in Lithuania to collect signatures for a similar petition.

As for the stance taken by the writer of the second letter on the question under examination, it is quite transparent. He clearly does not like the two most important provisions of the article "Federative Union" which point out that (1) "a confederation is not a union state, but an interstate union," and (2) "such formations are of a temporary nature, as is shown by history." In an attempt to refute the latter thesis he refers, in particular, to the stability of Switzerland, regarding it as a model confederative formation.

This country is indeed still called the "Swiss Confederation," that is, as it was in the Middle Ages (during the late 13th century). However, after the civil war last century, which ended in defeat for the supporters of decentralization, Switzerland was transformed from a union of states into a union state. Certainly, even then the constitution determined that each canton in this state constituted a "federal and sovereign state" with its own government and constitution. The country did in effect become a federation long ago with the great centralization of the most important state functions. The Federal Assembly (parliament) holds supreme legislative power in the country, while the cantons do not have the right to leave the alliance. That is why it is no coincidence that reference works describe the "Swiss Confederation" as a federative parliamentary republic. That is approximately how things stand with the other example of a stable confederation cited in the letter—Canada.

But let us return to the first of the aforementioned points in the article "Federative Union." In the opinion of the author of the letter under examination, this article's

approach to the question of the nature of our state contravenes Articles 70 and 76 of the existing Constitution. This contradiction can be perceived in the fact that "it treats the USSR as a union of 'sovereign soviet socialist states.'" Article 76 does indeed describe the union republic as a "sovereign soviet socialist state." I believe, however, that in this case, as in many others, it is not a matter of name but of essential substance. In this connection one cannot fail to recall the example of the Swiss Constitution, whereby the cantons are regarded as "federal sovereign states." In other words, the point is not whether the component parts of a federation are called "states" [gosudarstva], "cantons," "republics," "states" [shtaty], "laender," and so on but how the sovereignty of these units is really determined.

Here we really come up against the very complex question of the nature of sovereignty in a federative state. It is no coincidence that it now occupies a very important place in the problem of the relationship between the union and the union republics. In this connection sovereignty is frequently understood virtually as independence or, what is more, as full independence. However, by virtue of the well-known law of dialectics everything in the world is interconnected and interdependent or, in other words, absolute independence does not exist. True, in juridical literature sovereignty is frequently treated as supreme power. But in a federative state "supremacy" itself is a multilevel phenomenon (let us compare: the USSR Supreme Soviet, the union republic Supreme Soviet, the autonomous republic Supreme Soviet). And this alone demands a corresponding substantive analysis of the constitutions of federative states—in our case, above all, the existing Fundamental Law of the USSR.

It is all the more rightful to turn to the latter in this connection because, concerning the question of sovereignty, representatives of the union republic nations—that is, of those that gave their name to the union republics—usually refer to this Constitution. However, they frequently do so in an obviously selective way, confining themselves, as a rule, to an appeal to its Article 76, which, as already stated, characterizes the union republic as a sovereign socialist state. But at the same time at least three aspects are ignored. First, they forget to mention that this same article, in defining the union republic's sovereignty, specially stipulates: It "independently exercises state power on its own territory" "outside the limits indicated in Article 73 of the USSR Constitution," that is, those rights that come under the jurisdiction of the USSR in the form of its supreme organs of state power and management. Second, they keep quiet about the fact that the same Article 76 lays down that "the union republic has its own constitution corresponding to the USSR Constitution." Third, and chiefly, they virtually ignore the preceding Article 75 of the Constitution, according to which "the sovereignty of the USSR extends to its entire territory."

The principle of the priority of union legislation over republic legislation was originally laid down when the Soviet federation was formed. This was enshrined back

in the 1924 Constitution, whose first chapter bluntly pointed out, in particular, that "the repeal of resolutions violating this Constitution" and stemming from the union republics' supreme organs of power comes under the jurisdiction of the USSR in the form of its supreme organs. But this and similar provisions of the 1924 Constitution certainly do not provide grounds for regarding them as evidence of the boundless priority of union sovereignty. It bluntly pointed out that "the union republics' sovereignty is confined only within the limits indicated in this Constitution."

On the whole, though, it seems that on the philosophical plane the correlation between the union and republic levels of sovereignty and their hierarchical nature should be regarded not as evidence of two essences of our country's fundamental laws but as just one manifestation of the law of the unity of opposites, which is so characteristic of the relationship between the whole and the part. Clearly there is hardly any need to cite detailed proof that the Soviet Union now constitutes a very complex system whose individual parts are connected to each other by (in addition to political factors) millions of very diverse threads (energy, production, trade, social, domestic, cultural, scientific, and so forth) which have taken shape over the years of Soviet power. Recently, during the strikes in various parts of the country, we were, alas, able to see very clearly for ourselves how dangerous the disruption of such ties is for the normal functioning of this integral system and, in the final analysis, for its preservation.

It is well known that no complex system can exist without special regulation of its functioning as a whole. In the organic world this role is fulfilled by the central nervous system; in sociopolitical organizations, by the central organs of state power. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that these organs may be struck by a grave ailment. This happened in our country, in particular, as a result of their departmental-bureaucratic degeneration during the years of Stalinism and stagnation. But this in no way gives grounds for denying altogether the significance of such organs for the existence of the entire system. For it does not occur to anyone to deny altogether the special significance for people of the central nervous system on the grounds that individuals with defects exist in this system. Deformations of the center which controls the activities of the organism as a whole need only to be treated, and with very radical means. Figuratively speaking, such therapy is now being employed in our country in the course of creating a rule-of-law state. This is, above all, increasingly filling the republics' sovereignty with real substance by means of decentralization on the basis of a redistribution of rights among the center and the republics.

However, broadening the sovereignty of the republics certainly does not signify a rejection of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, which consciously combines the positive aspects of both democracy and

centralism. These principles are opposed not only to departmental-bureaucratic centralization but also to arbitrary, anarchist trends and attempts at autarky and national egoism.

Meanwhile, the danger of replacing the diktat of the center with the diktat of republic-level bureaucracy has been noted more than once in the press. However, so far we have mainly been concerned with predictable danger. But foreign experience attests to the reality of this danger. I became personally convinced of this when studying Yugoslavia's ethnic problems in the sixties. Even then, I was able to publish evidence that the decentralization of that country (primarily financial and economic decentralization) had led to an intensification of conflict between the republics, which was manifesting itself particularly strongly in a bureaucratic struggle at various levels over the problems of regional investment policy. It has now finally been admitted at an official level that the positions of the republic-level and regional bureaucracy were strengthened in that country due to decentralization.

In order to ensure that something similar does not happen in our country, the democratization of economic relations must, as has been emphasized more than once, be based primarily on economic accountability for enterprises as the basic production cell. After all, in present-day conditions, virtually every more or less large enterprise has strongly established economic ties which extend far beyond the borders of the republic. But if these ties come into conflict with the trend toward republic autarky in the guise of self-sufficiency (and, with an absence of wholesale trade, this kind of danger certainly cannot be ruled out), the country's economic integration will inevitably be placed in jeopardy.

Of course, it should not be forgotten in this respect that the national processes taking place in our country (as in the rest of the world) have two inherent principles: not only integrational but also differentiatonal. However, it is vital to consider that if such a basic manifestation of the integrational trend as internationalization occurs for the most part spontaneously, in the process of differentiation a special role is now played by subjective factors, primarily national self-awareness. It is very sensitive to the deformations which have accumulated in the sphere of ethnic relations. These deformations are largely the product of the bureaucratic-centralist system, which was characterized by the desire to unify absolutely everything—from the economy to culture. This is the source of the perfectly natural acuteness which has now been acquired by language problems, questions of peoples' origins, national history, and so on. It is also the source of the general significance of the struggle to revive the national culture of our country's peoples, a struggle which is growing in scale.

However, on this occasion, extremes have not been avoided during the interaction between the two principles under discussion. Whereas before (despite appeals

not to force either one of these principles) the differentiatonal trend was unilaterally held back, now the integrational trend is often simply glossed over. Furthermore, attempts are made to substantiate the theory that our country is still not mature enough for integration.

Structures of this kind could now have a considerable impact on the real development of national processes. This fully applies to attempts to present a confederation as preferable to a federation. The negative consequences of realizing this idea are quite obvious.

On a historical level, turning our country into a confederation would be a regression. After all, during the civil war years treaty relations were formed between the young Soviet republics, mainly concerning military and diplomatic questions. This military-political union of Soviet republics was in fact a confederation. The nature of their relations was cardinaly changed with the formation of the USSR in 1922. The special declaration adopted in this connection proclaimed the unification of the Soviet republics into one union state—a state capable of ensuring external security, economic prosperity at home, and freedom for the peoples' national development. A series of corresponding rights were delegated by the republics to the jurisdiction of the union state in the form of its supreme bodies. That is how the confederation developed into a federation.

In conclusion, slightly rephrasing the rhetorical question which concludes the second letter to the newspaper, I would like to ask: Who would benefit from our union state moving backward, along the path of turning into a confederation? It is quite obvious that it would not be the nationalities which populate it, and certainly not the Soviet people as a whole.

Nonaggression Pact Cannot Be Deemed Illegal
PM0808095389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 6 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Candidate of Historical Sciences Yuriy Yemelyanov
"Correspondence on Historical Topics": "August 1939.
Before and After"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "Much has been said recently about the 1939 treaty and the interpretation of the history of how Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia became part of the USSR. Speaking at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, several deputies from the Baltic republics persistently demanded that this treaty be declared illegal. It is well known that the congress set up a special deputies' commission to evaluate the legal and political aspects of the nonaggression treaty between the USSR and Germany. Nonetheless, I would like to hear a reply from specialists as to the extent to which this presentation of the question is possible and lawful in principle, and also about the development of the overall situation regarding these Baltic states' position at the time the 1939 treaty was concluded. "A. Sokolovskiy, Sverdlovsk."

Under What Conditions Can a Treaty Be Denounced?

When approaching a complex problem like the reevaluation of international treaties and agreements concluded in the past, it is especially important to remain objective and not to let emotions prevail over actual facts. Let us leave aside for now any moral evaluations of the 1939 treaty, especially since they have been repeatedly expressed, and let us first examine from a legal point of view the demands being made that the treaty be denounced.

Under international law, a treaty can be declared illegal or inoperative only if the treaty was the result of pressure on the representatives of the state signing it. There are such instances recorded in history. Back in 1526, for example, King Francis I of France repudiated the Madrid Treaty with Charles V, which he had signed while in Spanish captivity, declaring that he had signed it only as a result of violence and coercion.

As is well known, nothing like this happened between the parties to the 1939 treaty. Less than 2 years later the nonaggression treaty between the USSR and Germany was treacherously broken by Hitler's attack on our country and, in cases like this (once again in conformity with international law), all treaties between the belligerent sides are either rescinded or suspended by the war. After 1945, there was no longer even a question of it being reinstated, if for no other reason then because one of the parties to it—fascist Germany—had simply ceased to exist as a subject of international law.

That is, so to speak, by way of information about the legal norms operating in international relations. Now about the contents of the treaty itself. It is all the more important to analyze this because, as was correctly emphasized in M.S. Gorbachev's report on the 70th anniversary of October, evaluations of the situation on the eve of the war at times produce attempts to turn historical truth upside down, to juggle cause and effect relationships, and to falsify the chronology.

The text of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Treaty, which was signed 23 August 1939, did not contain any demands for territorial or political changes addressed to third parties, as was the case with the 1938 Munich Agreement for example. (Let us recall that it was signed without Czechoslovakia's representatives, but obliged that country to start handing the Sudetenland over to Germany on 1 October 1938 and to complete the handover by 10 October 1938.) The treaty between the USSR and Germany contained a pledge by both parties to refrain from aggressive actions and attacks against each other; in the event of either of the parties being attacked by a third power, not to give any support to the attacking power; to keep one another informed of questions affecting common interests; not to join groupings of powers aimed against either of the contracting parties; to resolve all disputes between themselves by peaceful means.

It is therefore no accident that the demand to declare the 1939 treaty illegal is associated not with any criticism of its text but with discussion of the so-called secret protocol to it, which, if we are to judge by the "copies" in circulation, defined the border separating Germany's and the USSR's spheres of influence. Furthermore, when speaking about secret accords, reference is made to a secret protocol to the 28 September 1939 Soviet-German Treaty on Borders and Friendship, which included Lithuania in the sphere of Soviet influence and Poland's territory to the west of West Ukraine and West Belorussia in Germany's sphere of influence. Even though the juridical validity of these protocols has not been determined to this day, it is nonetheless important to emphasize a highly material detail: Since they were secret—if for no other reason—they could not have been publicized as conditions for a third party's capitulation.

Incidentally, secret agreements and addenda to public treaties make up a large chapter in the history of international relations. For example, the 1951 U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty which is currently in effect contains a secret section providing that military bases on Japanese territory shall be made available to the United States. But the existence of secret supplements to a treaty does not mean it is deemed inoperative. Today we are entitled to condemn moral aspects of written or oral agreements signed with Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, militarist Japan, and other aggressive regimes preaching the ideology of antidemocratism, racism, and expansionism. At the same time, however, when evaluating today various actions taken at that time, we cannot fail to take into account the substantial differences in the opportunities to obtain information about the situation at the time. On the one hand, now we know much about those events from sources which were unknown to their contemporaries; on the other hand, a certain part of the knowledge available to people who made the crucial decisions at that time has disappeared with them. Generations of historians are racking their brains to restore these secrets of the past and are, unfortunately, not always successful.

It is also necessary to take into account the steady evolution of moral evaluations in international relations. Disregard for the interests of small countries and peoples—as manifested in the aggression against Manchuria, Ethiopia, and Austria and in the adoption by powers from the anti-Hitler coalition of declarations concerning the future of Poland, Yugoslavia, and other countries without any involvement by their representatives in the discussion—was unfortunately a practice typical of the thirties and forties.

On What Basis Did Soviet Troops Enter the Baltic Countries?

Let us return to the topic of our conversation. The main argument in demands to declare the 1939 treaty illegal takes the form of an assertion that the changes which occurred on several territories to the west of the Soviet-German border as of 23 August 1939 are a direct

consequence of the treaty. This involves two strained arguments on the basis of, first, the juridical validity of the secret protocol and, second, the claim that the contents of this protocol had the effect of diktat for third parties. Let us dwell on this in somewhat greater detail.

The entry of Soviet troops into the Baltic countries is held to be one of the consequences of the 1939 treaty. But no matter how powerful the indirect effect of this treaty or of other accords might have been for the future of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, it is an obvious fact that the entry and deployment of Soviet troops on the territory of the three Baltic republics was the result of treaties signed by the USSR Government with the Government of Estonia on 28 September 1939, with the Government of Latvia on 5 October, and with the Government of Lithuania on 10 October 1939. There have been and there are no doubts about the legitimacy of these international documents. They were signed by plenipotentiary representatives of the corresponding governments and were ratified by the parliaments of the four countries.

The 1939 Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty provided for the handing over of the city of Vilnius (Vilno) and the adjoining region to Lithuanian sovereignty. It is appropriate to note in this context that some researchers, while deploring the immoral division of "small" countries which happened at that time, forget to mention the role played in this division by those countries' governments at the time. For example, no sooner had Czechoslovakia fallen victim to the Munich diktat than Poland annexed the Czechoslovak city of Tesin and its adjoining territory on 2 October 1938. Hungarian troops occupied part of Slovakia and Transcarpathian Russia [Zakarpatskaya Rus] in November 1938.

The entry of Soviet troops onto the territory of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia did not provoke any negative response from the parliaments or press in these republics. And this is understandable: This step was directly associated with the growing exacerbation of the international situation caused by the onset of World War II.

Did the three republics have an opportunity to preserve their peaceful neutral status in those conditions? The traditional neutrality of The Netherlands and Denmark, observed by these countries during the 1914-1918 war, had by that time already been violated by the "Third Reich" and both countries were occupied. The German military-political leadership had detailed plans to capture also the few countries in Europe (Sweden and Switzerland) which, having preserved their democracy, had not fallen victim to fascist aggression. The inevitability of a clash between the USSR and Germany, which was becoming increasingly obvious, provided no grounds for hope that the three Baltic republics would remain uninvolved in the conflict.

It must be said that for many centuries the geographical location of the Baltic countries had predetermined the historical destinies of the Estonian, Lettish, and Lithuanian peoples. Neither the Estonian nor the Lettish people, having been successively part of the Livonian Order, various bishoprics, the Duchy of Kurland, Sweden, and the Russian Empire, had enjoyed their own statehood until 1918, while Lithuania had lost its state autonomy for many years when it became part of the Rzeczpospolita in 1569. This had a substantial effect on the nature of the Baltic countries' economic and political development and led to the unequal status of various national groups within these countries' social structures.

By the early thirties the independent Baltic republics already contained a sizable proportion of ethnic minorities representing peoples who had held a dominant position in the region in the past. Today, when there are so many complaints about the demographic composition of the Baltic republics, I do not think that it would be out of place to bring certain data to readers' notice. Authors of letters to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, incidentally, ask about this question. Here are the figures cited by Polish researcher Piotr Losowski in his book "The Baltic Countries on the Path From Parliamentary Democracy to Dictatorship."

"Ethnic minorities comprised 12.4 percent of the population in Estonia (8.3 percent Russians, 1.7 percent Germans, 0.4 percent Jews, 2 percent others). They accounted for 26.6 percent in Latvia (10.5 percent Russians, 5.2 percent Jews, 3.8 percent Germans, 2.8 percent Poles, 2.1 percent Belorussians, 1.3 percent Letts, 0.4 percent Estonians, 0.5 percent others). Ethnic minorities in Lithuania (which did not include Vilnius and its adjoining region at the time) comprised 16.1 percent of the population (7.6 percent Jews, 3.2 percent Poles, 2.5 percent Russians, 0.7 percent Letts, 0.2 percent Belorussians, 0.5 percent others).

"Some other data are equally interesting. Latvia's and Lithuania's agriculture employed 65 percent of Letts and 85 percent of Lithuanians, with industry and handicrafts [remesla] employing 14 percent of Letts and 5 percent of Lithuanians. Germans accounted for 22 percent of all physicians in Latvia, with Jews representing 8.6 percent and Russians representing 7.6 percent. A sizable proportion of state functionaries comprised representatives of ethnic minorities, who at times could not speak the Lettish language. Germans predominated among court and prosecutor's office workers.

"Expressing the interests of the national bourgeoisie and a sizable proportion of the local peasantry, in the early twenties the Baltic countries' ruling circles started pursuing a policy of mounting an offensive against the positions of ethnic minorities within their countries. This took various forms—from an agrarian reform which restricted

land use by German barons and colonists who previously owned a sizable proportion of arable land, to the 'Lettization' of Latgalia, which resulted in the eradication of the local population's identity."

The creation of bourgeois republics following the rout of Soviet power and the crushing of the communist movement in the Baltic countries, the sociopolitical orientation of ruling parties toward the young bourgeoisie and rich peasantry, with these strata's typical tendency toward authoritarianism, and the ideological influence of a number of new political forces in Europe were reflected in the spread of extreme rightwing ideology in the Baltic countries. The authoritarian trends in the activity of governments and ruling parties, which were intensified following the coups d'etat in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, found ideological expression in extreme forms of nationalism and anticommunism, which were akin not so much to German Nazism as to Italian fascism. The ruling party in Lithuania (Tautininkas) developed ties with the Italian fascist party. Italian fascist literature was disseminated in Lithuania. Lithuanian government leaders talked of common state interests of Italy and Lithuania. The slogan "The 20th Century Is Century of Fascism" was proclaimed in the republic. The Lettish-Italian Society which was created became the tool for spreading the ideology of Italian fascism in Latvia.

At the same time, the fascist parties in the three republics constantly talked about the special form of their rightwing ideology. Lithuanian President A. Smetona, for example, put forward the theory of a middle line between fascism and the parliamentary system. Local fascist movements were especially diligent in distancing themselves from Hitlerism. The Estonian fascist party ("Veterans League"), which painstakingly borrowed the experience of Nazism and received direct assistance from the Hitlerites, declared its own special ideological concept and denied any ties with German national-socialism. This was due to the fact that many people in the Baltic countries were clearly aware of the danger which German Nazism posed for them. Let us turn again to some documentary testimony.

"At the Tautininkas Party Congress back in December 1933 Lithuanian President A. Smetona appraised the role of German Nazism and said: 'It is openly aggressive and strives not only to regain the land lost in the last war, but also to capture additional territory at the expense of the Baltic countries and later on of Russia.' A. Smetona had grounds for making this statement. 'When we talk of new territories in Europe today,' A. Hitler wrote in 'Mein Kampf,' 'we must think mainly of Russia and the border states subordinate to it.'

"It is clear that A. Hitler was talking about the three new states in the Baltic region. Disregarding the state independence of the Baltic countries, he based this appraisal on these republics' real economic ties with the USSR. The fact that this region had been a sphere of 'Third Reich'

aspirations from the very beginning is proved by a statement A. Hitler made during his 19 November 1937 meeting with British Minister Lord Halifax, during which he clearly outlined his position: 'For its part, Germany cannot expect from other countries even the slightest concessions in satisfying its most natural vital needs.... A graphic example is Lithuania's capture of Memel Province in 1923 and its subsequent attitude toward German protests on this matter.'"

The rulers of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were aware that, in the event of an armed conflict, a sizable proportion of the German minority might play the role of Hitler's "Fifth Column" and would help restore the German population's dominant position in the economic and state life of these countries. Evidence of this was provided, for example, by the ostentatious steamship trip into neutral waters of the Baltic Sea by a large group of Germans living in Riga in order to vote for A. Hitler in the 19 August 1934 German presidential elections. Germany not only had its supporters among the German minority but also recruited them from among the local population.

The West's readiness to satisfy Hitler's claims on the Baltic region, which took the form of a refusal to condemn the annexation of Klaypeda (Memel), which was effected 23 March 1939 under threat of a naval landing by Germany, influenced the position of the Baltic countries' governments further still. Whereas a foreign policy orientation toward Britain and France had been typical of them until 1939, an outright turnabout toward cooperation with Germany occurred following the capture of Memel. All three countries signed nonaggression treaties with Germany during 1939, simultaneously notifying the West of their unwillingness to participate in the creation of a collective security system in Europe.

The awareness of the countries' foreign political vulnerability forced the governments of Pyats, Ulmanis, and Smetona to pursue a policy of a balancing act between Germany and the USSR in 1939-1940. Following the signing of the treaties with the USSR at the end of 1939 and the introduction of Soviet troops into the Baltic region, the governments of the three countries strove to play down the importance of these treaties and to secure "balancing" ties with Germany. Estonia's State Duma President Uluots declared: "We must make it (the treaty with the USSR—Yu.Ye.) as sloppy [zhidkiy] as possible...." These countries developed economic cooperation with Germany.

The movement of Baltic countries' troops toward the Soviet border in the spring of 1940 created the threat of a surprise encirclement of Soviet units in the event of German troops entering the Baltic countries' territory and launching an attack on the USSR and its Armed Forces. Nonetheless, the fears among Soviet military leaders aroused by the military and foreign policy

maneuvers by the Pyats, Ulmanis, and Smetona governments did not produce any changes at all in the USSR's relations with the Baltic countries. The 1939 treaties continued to be observed.

What Hopes Were Engendered by the Orientation Toward "German Order"?

It is hard to say how events might have developed further had Hitler not embarked on the lightning occupation of European states. The capture of Denmark in just a few hours without any fighting proved the treacherous aggressiveness and tremendous potential of Germany's mighty war machine aimed against a small country. Within a short time, by mid-June 1940, the peoples of Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France found themselves beneath Hitler's heel.

It was at that time, under cover of a "Baltic Week" and "sports festival" and with the governments' complicity, that fascists in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were preparing to seize power and ask Germany to bring troops into these countries. The crucial event was scheduled for 15 June, the day the festivities were due to begin. It is not impossible that, inspired by Hitler's successes in May-June 1940 and the Red Army's highly unsuccessful operations during the Soviet-Finnish war, these forces might have attempted to embark on a military-political adventure. It was in this—bluntly speaking—dangerous situation that the Soviet Government presented the Lithuanian Government with its 14 June 1940 ultimatum demanding free passage for Soviet troops "so they can be deployed in Lithuania's most important centers."

On the next day, 15 June, the Lithuanian Government accepted all the conditions contained in the Soviet note. The USSR presented similar demands to the Governments of Estonia and Latvia on 16 June, and Soviet troops entered the territory of the three Baltic republics 15-17 June. This was soon followed by the flight of Lithuanian Government members headed by A. Smetona to Germany, the resignation of the Ulmanis and Pyats governments, and the coming to power of governments of the people's fronts of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Elections to the Lithuanian and Latvian Sejms and the Estonian State Duma which followed a month later resulted in the establishment of Soviet power there and the entry of the three republics in the USSR.

Of course, one would have to be politically naive to disregard the connection between the entry of Soviet troops on the three republics' territory 15-17 June and these events. A few years later, the entry of Soviet troops onto the territory of a number of countries in central and southeast Europe accelerated these countries' socialist choice. It is, however, impossible to disregard the fact that—as the facts cited above make clear—the ideology of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism in a frankly fascist form, as well as the ideas of national self-assertion,

were firmly rooted in all three republics. The consolidation of the popularity of Soviet power was in no way promoted by the practice of illegalities in those years.

Western sources have repeatedly emphasized that the entry of German troops was welcomed by parts of the local population in a number of places in the Baltic countries. Of course, these people included frank opponents of the Soviet system, but there were also those who expected deliverance from illegal persecutions under the new regime and greater prosperity. But those selfsame sources admit that these hopes did not materialize, and they could not have materialized since the Baltic region was assigned a different future in Hitler's plans. With just a few weeks left before the start of the implementation of the "Barbarossa" plan, A. Hitler appointed Alfred Rosenberg, former editor of the VOELKISCHER BEOBACHTER, commissar for the East European region.

In early 1941 A. Rosenberg had already prepared a plan for his commissariat's operations, envisaging "the Germanization of Balts, who racially lend themselves to assimilation, and the deportation of undesirable elements." A native of Tallinn, A. Rosenberg emphasized that "provisions for large-scale deportation must be made" in Latvia and Estonia. German war veterans were due to be settled in place of the deportees. "The Baltic Sea," A. Rosenberg proclaimed, "must become a German lake." On 16 July 1941 A. Hitler announced to those assembled at his general headquarters in East Prussia: "The entire Baltic region must be incorporated into Germany."

The German occupation brought ruin, forced labor, and death to hundreds of thousands of people in the Baltic region. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, together with Belorussia, were incorporated in the Reichskommissariat Ostland. The results of the "German order" are eloquently proved by documents of the Extraordinary State Commission To Establish and Investigate Atrocities by the German Fascist Invaders.

"...The Hitlerites drove the Baltic working peasantry away from the land, expropriated their agricultural implements and equipment, and even confiscated timber procured by peasants for the building of housing. In the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] the German invaders expropriated 600,000 hectares of land, all the livestock, and all agricultural implements from former farm laborers, landless peasants, and smallholders who had been given subsidies amounting to R27 million by the Latvian Soviet government to acquire them.

"The Germans expropriated from Lettish peasants and shipped back to Germany 320,000 units of agricultural equipment and implements and about 2 million head of livestock, destroyed 500,000 fruit trees, and expropriated, plundered, or shipped out more than 9 million tonnes of agricultural produce."

The enslavement of the Baltic region was accompanied by the plundering of the cultural heritage of the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Estonian peoples. The USSR Extraordinary Government Commission reported that, in all, 15 museums in the Lithuanian SSR, 26 in the Estonian SSR, and 30 in the Latvian SSR were destroyed during the Hitlerite occupation. So-called "instructions" by A. Rosenberg's Chief of Staff Utikan were read out among documents submitted by the prosecution at the International Military Tribunal which tried the chief war criminals in Nuremberg:

"...On 21 August 1944 Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg summoned Senior Chief Friedrich Schiller from headquarters to report on currently available opportunities to evacuate cultural valuables from the eastern provinces. On the basis of this report, the Reichsleiter decided that Ostland's most valuable cultural assets could still be shipped out by his headquarters, since this is possible without any detriment to the needs of operational units.

"The Reichsleiter deems the following to be especially valuable:

"From Riga: The city archive, the state archive (mainly held in Edvalene).

"From Revel: The city archive, the Estonian Literary Society, small articles from the Chernogolov home, the city hall, the Evangelical-Lutheran Consistory, and the Nikolayevskaya Church.

"From Derpt: The University Library.

"From Estonian estates: Articles located in Yerlep, Vodye, Veylenshteyn, Lakhmes."

The local population was used as work force by the "Third Reich."

The plan for the Baltic region's "purification" from racially "second-class" elements began to be implemented immediately after the occupation. The following report by Operations Group "A" of the Security Police and the SD [security service] for the period between 16 October 1941 and 31 January 1942 has been preserved:

"...The systematic work to purify the East according to basic orders," it says, "was aimed at the fullest possible liquidation of Jews. This goal has been basically attained. A total of 229,052 Jews have been executed, excluding Belorussia. The Jews remaining in the Baltic provinces are being urgently mobilized for work and settled in ghettos....

"Estonia.

"Execution of Jews not needed for work by Security Police and SD troops. As of today, there are no more Jews left in Estonia.

"Latvia.

"There were still 70,000 Jews when German troops entered Latvia....

"By October 1941 these Sonderkommando had executed a total of 30,000 Jews.

"Further executions were carried out recently. For example, 11,034 Jews were executed in Dvinsk 9 November 1941. As a result of an operation carried out on orders from the former SS [security service] and police chief 27,800 Jews were executed in Riga in early December 1941, and 2,850 Jews were executed in Libava in mid-December 1941. At present the ghettos house, in addition to Jews from Germany, in round figures: 2,500 persons in Riga, 950 in Dvinsk, 300 persons in Libava.

"These Jews, being skilled specialists, are at present still necessary to keep the economy running....

"Lithuania.

"...As a result of many individual operations, a total of 136,421 persons have been liquidated."

These are the facts of the past which, I think, introduce a certain clarity in the events of 1939. Today, for various reasons, there is a livelier desire in the Baltic republics to review the nature of relations with the other USSR republics prevailing since 1940. There can be no objections to the raising of this question per se. The nature of federative relations within the USSR (and this was said at the congress) needs to be radically reviewed. The center's rigid control over various spheres of cultural life has exacerbated many problems in the union republics, producing anomalies in economic development, exacerbation of the ecological situation, and greater interethnic frictions. This has fully manifested itself also in the Baltic republics.

But justified complaints about the center's occasional incompetence and disregard of the three republics' legitimate interests, and especially the indigenous population's interests, recently have increasingly taken the form of a desire to renounce the Baltic republics' status within the union framework established after June 1940. These ideas were promoted by some Baltic deputies as persistently as the demands to recognize the 1939 Soviet-German Treaty as illegal. This can hardly be deemed accidental, and it is hardly possible not to perceive in this fact quite a clear link between the program to split the union and the revision of history. One gets the impression that some people are hoping that the solution of demands which are now being actively promoted in the Baltic region (withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltic region, transformation of federative ties within the USSR into symbolic ones, declaration that members of the nonindigenous population are second-class citizens) will be considerably facilitated once the 1939 treaty has been declared illegal.

Under the influence of emotional statements on this topic, the authors of some letters to the editorial office are inclined to take a somewhat simplistic view of the proposals by Baltic deputies—why not be fair in appraisals here, they say. But let us take a realistic view of

things, not overlooking the fact that a recognition of the 1939 Soviet-German Nonaggression Treaty as unlawful would have a whole series of negative consequences for our country.

What Would Recognition of the Treaty as Illegal Mean for Us Now?

Such a review calls into question the legitimate nature of the USSR's existing borders. If the changes along the western Soviet state border after 23 August 1939 are regarded as the result of an illegal treaty, an automatic result of the renunciation of the 1939 treaty must be to restore the western Soviet border as it was on 23 August 1939. This would mean the loss of Soviet sovereignty over the three Baltic republics, western oblasts of the Ukraine and Belorussia, North Bukovina and Moldavia, the northern part of Leningrad Oblast (the Karelian Isthmus and the northern shores of Lake Ladoga), and part of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

That is not all. The automatic restoration of the Baltic republics' borders existing prior to the signing of the treaty on 23 August 1939 would mean handing Vilnius (Vilno) and Vilenskiy Rayon over to Poland. The question would arise of the status of Klaypeda and its adjoining region. But since the 1939 treaty is being arbitrarily interpreted and logic in deliberations about it is being replaced by emotions, it is obvious that not all the consequences of such an automatic repudiation of the treaty have been taken into account.

A recognition of the 1939 treaty as illegal ab initio is coupled with nonrecognition of the legal basis for the stationing of Soviet troops on territories lying to the west of the Soviet border on 23 August 1939 and subsequently included in the USSR. It is an alarming fact that numerous rallies in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania already perceive the entry of Soviet troops onto the Baltic countries' territory as an act of occupation and that facts associated with events in 1939-1940 are deliberately disregarded or not taken into account. Furthermore, matters have already gone as far as proclaiming the "forest brothers," hitherto considered fascists or the accomplices of fascists, to have been fighters for freedom and justice. Of course, their motives for joining the struggle against Soviet power were by no means always associated with their support for fascist ideology or Hitler's Germany, but it would be hardly fair to forget either the links between these armed formations and the "Third Reich" or the atrocities committed by them.

A recognition of the 1939 treaty (in its arbitrary interpretation) as unlawful opens the possibility of reviewing the legality of all institutions of Soviet power in the Baltic republics and on other territories lying to the west of the border existing on 23 August 1939 and of automatically restoring all legal and state institutions which had existed in these parts. At the same time, this would make it possible to raise doubts about whether the

millions of Soviet citizens who have moved there since 1939 are legally entitled to remain on the land of the Baltic countries and other western territories.

It must be borne in mind that demands to evict the "nonlocal population" and create discriminatory conditions for its life are reflected in statements by nationalist elements and have had an effect on a series of legislative acts recently adopted in Estonia and Lithuania. If the settlement of nonlocal population in the Baltic countries were to be declared the consequence of an illegal treaty, this would make it possible to give a more acceptable moral and political appearance to these discriminatory measures.

True enough, if one is to be fully consistent in restoring the international structure which existed prior to 23 August 1939, then it would be necessary to bring back the hundreds of thousands of German citizens or their descendants who left the three republics in 1939-1940 and after 1944, and show concern for either restoring these persons' property or paying them material compensation for it. But this kind of "detail" is deliberately kept out of reckoning.

A recognition of the 1939 treaty as illegal on the grounds that the Soviet Union was worried about the situation along its western borders and strove to ensure its security interests by obtaining reliable military-political guarantees for its interests in neighboring countries would raise questions about the political and legal basis of all actions by the USSR aimed at ensuring its security, its interest in the stability of countries lying along its borders, and the maintenance of friendly relations with them. Without approving the methods used by the Soviet Union to ensure its national security in those years, it is nonetheless impossible to reject the very principle of the legitimacy of our country's foreign policy interests. This would place the USSR in a position of inequality compared with the other great powers. For example, the 1975 Helsinki Agreement enshrined the interest of the United States and Canada in European affairs and perceives the European Continent as a sphere of these American states' interests.

One of the direct consequences of recognizing the illegality of the 1939 treaty would be to fundamentally change the political evaluation of the Great Patriotic War. No matter how bitter it might feel, it is impossible to overlook the striving to place the USSR on the same footing as the fascist aggressor and distort the actual role played by the Soviet Union in the struggle to deliver entire countries and peoples from the Hitlerite yoke.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize once more: Yes, there should be every support for legitimate demands for the strengthening of economic and political autonomy at the level of union and autonomous republics, regions, and oblasts in the country. It is, however, impermissible for the struggle to overcome administrative methods in

the country's leadership and the consequences of illegalities to lead to any weakening of the USSR's international positions and its internal political unity and for the price for society's democratization to include the annihilation of the memory of the feat accomplished by the Soviet people who delivered the world from fascist slavery, as well as a disgusting slander against our motherland.

Writer Asks Why Gorbachev Statements Not Analyzed
PM0708120589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 1

[Viktor Tkachuk article under the rubric "Every Day Here": "Having One's Own Opinion"]

[Text] It has become customary when the head of the party and state makes any statement—on the radio, on television, or in the press—for Western observers' commentaries to reach us right away. But I somehow do not remember the Soviet press providing its own analysis. What is the matter?

Do observers have no time or exhaust their analytical capabilities and critical fire on assessing the policies of Prime Minister Thatcher and President Bush? Perhaps they are simply afraid of overstepping the mark in their investigations?

Even I am not unafraid as I set about drawing readers' attention to an event which I do not think should be hushed up.

A year or more ago the country was discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference with interest. As you will recall, they contained no clause on combining the jobs of party committee secretary and soviet chairman. This only emerged at the conference itself and provoked considerable disputes. The argument "for" ran as follows: The soviet must be backed up by the prestige of the party while the first secretary of the party oblast, city, or rayon committee will, moreover, really be answerable to the soviet and the voters for his decisions. People opposed to such pluralism made the following objection: It is unclear how this fits in with the concept of separation of the functions of soviets and party organs.

The debate ended with the first viewpoint being adopted. A year has elapsed since then....

Recently, 18 July, a meeting was held at the CPSU Central Committee, which examined certain questions of party work under conditions of perestroika. Speaking there, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "I think that we must approach the resolution of the question of pluralism concretely in every case on the basis of the current political situation. Any deputy with prestige, irrespective of his post and whether he is a Communist or a nonparty

man, can in principle be elected chairman of a soviet. I believe that this approach also accords with the Constitution and the current stage in the development of democracy."

The next day I scoured the press for commentaries on this, in my opinion, very important statement: Does this mean that the general secretary's viewpoint on the question of holding two posts has changed somewhat. Does this mean that the chance of becoming the chairman of a soviet has become a reality for a nonparty man or an ordinary Communist?

What has happened? Nothing terrible. Life has once again simply amended the progress of our political reform. Over the last year people have changed, along with the party and the domestic political situation. That is a reality which a politician cannot fail to take into consideration. I think that the general secretary's concluding words at the same meeting are also attributable to this: "Party prestige cannot be decreed. This cannot be done now (now!—V.T.) by any very powerful decree or decision.

Time flies quickly. A great deal that seemed impossible has become part of our life, almost without comment. Is it, perhaps, worth going back to some ideas that we rejected recently since we were unable to analyze them?

I have before me a report from the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Branch Nuclear Physics Institute. During a referendum on the question of whether the chairmen of soviets of people's deputies (from local soviets to the Supreme Soviet) should be elected directly—1,436 people answered "yes," while 42 answered "no."

According to the results of a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA survey, more than 4,500 readers advocated direct elections of soviet chairmen.

...Elections to republic and local soviets lie ahead. Maybe the idea of direct elections will cease to appear seditious in several months?

Is this on the whole may be a kind of commentary on what the general secretary said?...

Lithuanian Military Official Interviewed
LD1807130989 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian
5 Apr 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Colonel K. Golubevas, chief Political Section, Lithuanian Military Commissariat, by Larisa Serebrenikova entitled "What Follows The Send-Off?"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Republic Military Commissariat has been awarded the Baltic Military District Transferrable Red Banner. This attests to how its work with preparing the youth for 1988 service in the USSR Armed Forces has

been assessed. We asked Colonel K. Golubevas, chief of the Political Section of the Lithuanian Military Commissariat to answer some questions.

[Question] The fact that currently it is difficult to discuss achievements is not a secret. Military and civilian interrelations are complex and we have become accustomed to criticizing and expostulating problems requiring quick solutions. Yet, now the Military Commissariat has received an award for work achievements at this most "inopportune" time?...

[Answer] Currently, leaders need to possess a strong philosophy of life, which gives them trust and support. I wish to stress the fact that although the Military Commissariat was the recipient of this banner, it was earned by the local party and soviet leadership and education, health protection, komsomol and SDAALR [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] workers.

The authority of Lithuanian emissaries is sufficiently great in the Army. Besides, not one of our neighbors can boast of such a comfortable palace for conscripts as the one in the Lithuanian capital. The SDAALR schools are deservedly valued. The "officers' blacksmith shop"—the 50's komsomol special school—also works rather well.

[Question] In other words, there are no problems in preparing our young men for the service?

[Answer] There exist many problems. Behind the results are hidden serious shortcomings and violations. The young men's health is our number one problem. Only 89 percent of them are fit for troops. Their health does not improve from the time they register to the day they are called up; on the contrary, the percentage of those unfit for service increases. Traumas and mental disorders are very prevalent. They receive treatment mostly in Silale, Varena, Lazdijai, Mazeikiai, Prienai, Radviliskis, and Taurage Rayons. Physical fitness deteriorates from year to year. Only 66 percent of the youths are capable of fulfilling the elementary PDG [a type of physical fitness test] norms. The youths from Kapsukas, Zarasai, and Mazeikiai are very poorly prepared. It is simply depressing to look at some of these soldiers-to-be: pale, 18-year-old accelerates. Yet tomorrow they will have to rise early and engage in cross-country runs; they will be subjected to great physical and moral stresses. This is when a youth simply falls apart. Letters are sent home to parents and wives—help, I will not last. That is why we must quickly establish defense-sports camps for young men's initial military preparation. Physical and moral strength attained at that age will serve them in good stead for the rest of their life. The young men's letters bear this out.

[Question] The Draft Komsomol Organization's Program was announced recently. It contains the proposal, our young men serve within the Baltic Military District. What is your opinion of this?

[Answer] Young people are trying to comprehend current changes. They are concerned about the "non-regulatory relations." We must not forget however, that the question of whether this shameful "tradition" will continue or not depends on them. In order to rid themselves of the fear they must assist in establishing new relations among themselves, but not put the onus on someone else's shoulders. Lieutenant General F. Kuzminas, chief Baltic District Army, also supported in his pre-election platform, the idea of Lithuanian Youth serving in the Baltic Military District.

He promised to greatly increase the number of those called up during the formation of the district. Even today 20 percent of Lithuanian youths serve in the Baltic. I would like to return to the "no-regulatory" relations again. Their roots, alas, are to be found in the "grazhdanka"—family and school. In the Army however, they thrive wherever a favorable soil exists. This is borne out by questionnaires given to soldiers and sergeants of two military districts. Eighty-six percent of the respondents stated PTM [as received] is an "authority of strength" respected even in schools, i.e. practically the same non-regulatory relations. It is no secret that there is an increase of those addicted to alcohol, narcotics, and drugs. Things are difficult not only for those in charge of them and political workers, but also for those who serve with them.

[Question] The prestige of officer positions has diminished. How then, are selections made for the military schools?

[Answer] This Defense Ministry task is not carried out by the Military Commissariat. Last year only 327 individuals were referred to schools. First of all, material living conditions are not easy for officers and their families. Young people are no longer attracted to these positions. Formerly this used to be considered a privilege in choosing one's profession. In addition, the positions of mass communications media exerts a very serious influence: youth is morally disarmed, pacifist notions and opposition to army service and officer positions are instilled. Education work and explanations yield results nevertheless. Youths from the city of Vilnius, Tarybos Rayon, Siauliai, Klaipeda, Kaunas, and Ignalina Rayons attend military schools willingly.

[Question] Soon it will be time for Army and military Navy callup. What would you like to say to parents and those in charge of educational institutions and enterprises?

[Answer] Help the Military Commissariat to objectively assess the young man and to justly assign him to the Army. His character after all, is a document by which he will be judged in the military service. List his positive attributes, his preferences, social activities, and character specifics. Do not attempt to hide childhood diseases. It would be appropriate to have a festive send-off. The young man will eventually return home to his former collective. Keep in touch with him during his time in service. A few words

also, on the send-off festivities. Last fall, many intoxicated individuals came to the send-off. They interfered with the work of Vilnius Rayon, Marijampole, Raseiniai, and Siauliai Military Commissariats. We had to appeal to the militia organs for help. There is still sufficient time to decide to hold nice send-offs.

Criminal Gangs Blamed for Fergana Unrest

LD0708121589 Moscow TASS in English
1148 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Tashkent August 7 TASS—It was not inter-ethnic friction that triggered massive unrest in the Fergana valley early in June, Uzbek academician and philosopher Erkin Yusupov believes. Clashes between criminal groups were to blame, and many inexperienced young people were drawn into the conflict, as the developments took the form of an inter-ethnic clash, he says.

An article by Yusupov dealing with the unrest was published today by the newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA. One hundred people were killed and many wounded as a result of fighting between the native population and Meskhetian Turks. Yusupov believes that all the nations inhabiting the country, but particularly the Uzbeks themselves, need an impartial analysis of causes that brought about the tragedy.

Socio-economic factors stimulated the outbreak of violence, Yusupov believes. Some 70,000 people in the Fergana valley are unemployed. A land shortage prevents increases in incomes which are about 3-4 times smaller than in other regions of the republic. Life expectancy there is the lowest in the country, and the infant mortality is the highest.

Yusupov mentioned the role played by extremists and some informal organizations in kindling the strife. "Their statements reflected nationalistic selfishness and conceit, portraying in a distorted way the nationalities policy of the Soviet Communist Party and the role of the Russian people in the fate of our country," he pointed out.

Meskhetian Turks, Crimean Tatars and other nations who were evicted from their native lands as a result of Stalinist repressions have lived in Uzbekistan for over 40 years. During this period they did not have a single inter-ethnic conflict with the local population. "This is why it is especially painful to realise the tragic nature of the recent developments in the Fergana Valley," Yusupov stated.

Draft Law on Tajik Language Submitted

LD1807104289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] A draft law of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on language has been put forward for nationwide discussion in Tajikistan. The draft establishes the legal status of the Tajik language and regulates its use as the state language throughout the whole territory of the

Tajik SSR. It also provides legal guarantees for the free functioning of the Russian language as the language of communication between nationalities in the USSR and of the national languages of the other peoples which live on the territory of the republic. The draft law notes that the declaration of the Tajik language to be the state language does not belittle and does not encroach upon any other language. The Tajik SSR recognizes the equality of rights of languages; it provides guarantees in law and an attitude of respect toward all languages in use in the republic and it defends the inalienable right of citizens of any nationality to the development of their language and culture.

Culture Minister's Rejection Discussed
18001355 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by L. Kononova: " 'Portfolio'... Without a Minister; Reflections on an Empty Chair"]

[Text] USSR Minister of Culture V. Zakharov was among six candidates who were not recommended by commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet to positions of ministers and chairmen of state committees. As our newspaper has already reported, he did not garner the necessary number of votes partly because when his candidacy was being considered the question came up: Are commissions competent to make a decision if their staff have not been confirmed yet by the Supreme Soviet? Therefore, many deputies refused to vote, believing that they should not cast their vote on the off chance that it could be misinterpreted.

The positions of the deputies who voted against the candidacy of V. Zakharov can be interpreted in different ways. Some spoke right out against the candidate himself, others were against the style and method of work of the ministry he headed, and a third position was against the USSR Ministry of Culture itself as an administrative institution.

And the question of whether a union ministry of culture is needed also arose at the joint meeting of the Commission on Questions of Cultural Development, Language, National and International Traditions, and the Protection of Historical Legacy and the Commission on National Policy and International Relations that was considering the candidacy of V. Zakharov. The resolution of that meeting states: "...Under the conditions of the sovereignty of union and autonomous republics, the activity of a national ministry of culture has little effect, and in that form the ministry in question loses its reason for existence. In the opinion of the deputies, the role of coordinator on strategic questions of the development of culture in the country could be performed by a bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers on cultural questions. A proposal was tabled to institute the position of deputy to the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers on cultural questions."

This proposal did not receive full support at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet that was considering the structure of the Council of Ministers, but the discussion about the necessity for a union department of culture was also renewed here. R. Gudaytis, the deputy from Lithuania, for example, noted that the presence of such an organ of cultural administration inevitably leads to a unification of all cultural policy in the country and levels ethnic traditions. Deputy R. Medvedev also admitted that he did not see a sphere for applying the efforts of this union ministry. But many more voices were heard at the session in defense of the ministry's right to exist.

"Why can the word 'gas' and the word 'ecology' exist, and why does the word 'culture' evoke opposition?" A. Melikov, deputy from Azerbaijan, asked indignantly. "Not one republic will be able to resolve its cultural problems without a central organ."

"What shall we do, pull the Tretyakov apart and spread it around the republics? Render the Hermitage ownerless? To whom will we give all of this?" Deputy I. Andreyeva inquired hotly.

There is some logic in such a position. Its adherents believe that unfortunately our local authority has not become that strong materially, has not achieved, let us say, such a level of perception to be able to resolve, independently and completely fairly, such questions as pay for the work of a librarian or a club manager, questions of supplying cultural centers with equipment and musical instruments, and questions of training cultural worker personnel. And our industrial enterprises are not that compelled to fill all orders for the delivery of various equipment in an ideal way without middlemen. And alas our variety "stars" still do not go on tours to Sochi and Yakutsk with equal enthusiasm. Thus, it is necessary to conduct a policy that, even in the slightest degree, provides cultural values to residents of different regions equitably. Alas, at present even the transfer of a cultural facility to the ownership of a city soviet does not signify that it will flourish, and it does not denote real concern for looking after it, but leads rather to its neglect and its being squandered. And the organization of cultural exchanges between oblasts and countries still requires earnest intermediary efforts.

Thus, a specific central organ that coordinates the development of cultural life in the country is needed. But in what form should it exist? Is the present USSR Ministry of Culture an ideal model for such a coordinator?

In a discussion the candidate for the post of minister divided the spheres of influence of republic and union ministries in the following way: "The republics have complete freedom today when it comes to creative questions. They have full independence in everything in financing and in disposing resources. Starting this year we have had the means for purchasing artistic works, and we divided them among the republics. What is left for the

union ministry? There remains: a) resolution of fundamental economic questions. For example, we cannot resolve in one individual republic the question of producing first-rate audio equipment or building a 'Steinway.' We should have at least one plant in the Union; b) questions of standards. Standards must be developed so that, for example, a republic has and maintains its own philharmonic society. Thus, we must develop an economic strategy and an organizational strategy."

If the first position seems to me to be indisputable, then the second raises doubts. Must there be the same standard of philharmonic activity in republics with different traditions of musical and singing cultures? Is not this sphere also a prerogative of the republic ministries?

There are many incongruities in why individual artistic establishments are directly subordinate to the USSR Ministry of Culture. As for the Bolshoy and the Malyy theaters of the USSR and MKhAT [Moscow Artistic Academic Theater], their affiliation is, on the whole, appropriate and understandable. But there are examples of incomprehensible selection. Why, for example, is the A.P. Chekhov house-museum in Yalta and the Glinka Museum of Musical Culture under the wing of a union ministry? What are the selection criteria? What is the advantage of such patronage? What is the basis for the boundary of the sphere of influence between republic and union ministries?

We will mention that among the weightiest arguments expressed at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in favor of retaining the USSR Ministry of Culture was the following: A full cultural exchange between republics and a mutual enrichment of ethnic cultures is inconceivable without a union ministry. But, unfortunately, the USSR Ministry of Culture did not involve itself fully in problems of interethnic relations. It was only at the end of last year that the question was raised concerning the establishment of an interethnic cultural relations department within the structure of the ministry. A lot of experience has not yet been accumulated here. It is not accidental that, answering a question of Deputy Ye. Gayer about what the Ministry of Culture is doing to rescue the traditional cultures of numerically small ethnic groups, V. Zakharov could cite only one specific fact: the recruitment of ethnic peoples for theatrical VUZ's [higher educational institutions] and the graduation of really trained groups for ethnic theaters.

For the sake of fairness we will note: Little was done during the 3 years of work of V. Zakharov in the position of minister. It was possible to increase the financing of the ministry. The salaries of actors of the children's theaters were raised, and pensions were increased for members of the Union of Theatrical Workers. For the first time the USSR Council of Ministers approved a special decree that provided for tasking 20 leading industrial ministries and departments to create and manufacture modern equipment for cultural establishments.

However, in the candidate's somewhat muddled presentation of a program, the deputies did not hear a clear concept of a cultural policy in the country that was directed at a fuller exposure of the spiritual potential of society and the inculcation of a high morality. This really did not come through in the stream of figures, economic computations, and parameters, after which the deputies expressed their opinion about the incompetence of the candidate for the post of minister of culture.

Many deputies who spoke for retention of the Ministry of Culture tie its presence to a guarantee of a steady increase of the cultural level in the country. This idea was heard particularly clearly in the speech at the session of the USSR of Deputy Yu. Drunina. But, unfortunately, until the ministerial system is straightened out there, the real state of affairs in the theaters, museums, libraries, and clubs, and the dynamics of their improvement or worsening are in no way reflected in the material or career well-being of employees of the ministry. The prevailing criteria of their activity still remains the number of approved decrees, prepared amendments, and organized seminars. The system does not look on the consumer of culture, and as long as it functions this way, to predict that the state of affairs with culture in the country will improve only owing to the existence of a ministry in its present form is rash at the very least. The functions of the ministry and the approaches to an assessment of its activity must be changed drastically.

Just claims were made in the discussions with regard to the fact that democratic principles are not being introduced into the activity of the USSR Ministry of Culture with sufficient aggressiveness. Thus, the structure of the ministry was recently revised. Instead of 21 administrations and independent departments, 8 glavks [main departments] and 3 functional administrations were established. In fact, the reorganization was generally not that fundamental: Those subdivisions that were together previously—clubs, libraries, museums, and parks—were merged into one glavk, one administration; cadres and educational institutions... Was there any consultation with the public; in adopting the new structure, were cultural workers and members of creative unions brought into the discussions? No, the decision was made usually by a narrow group of persons. And there is already a doubt: Will not the entire reorganization turn into a purely mechanical merger of subdivisions?

If one considers that a course has been set for the independence of republic ministries, that a large part in the formation of cultural policy is being shifted to localities (and it really is being transferred—today, a decision about the opening, let us say, of a theater is made not by the union ministry, but by the ispolkom [executive committee] of the city and oblast soviet; it is not the ministry that decides questions of pay grade classification of actors into first, second, and third categories, and the organization of many festivals has

also been shifted to localities), and if you consider that this trend should continue in the future, then the present apparatus of the union Ministry of Culture is unnecessarily unwieldy.

It is appropriate at this point to provide this information. In 1953 the ministries of higher education and cinematography, the glavk of labor reserves, the Glavpoligrafizdat [main administration of the printing industry, publishing, and book trade], and the Sovinformburo [Soviet information bureau] were under the aegis of the USSR Ministry of Culture. Within a year the Ministry of Higher Education and the Main Administration of Labor Reserves attached to the USSR Council of Ministers were made independent units. Within 3 years, the State Committee for Television and Radiobroadcasting was formed. In September 1963 Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography] and Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] were detached from the Ministry of Culture and made into independent structures. Incidentally, until that reorganization, the staff of the ministry numbered 341 persons. At the beginning of 1989 there were 378 employees.

By a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers—"On the General Outline for Managing the Cultural Branch" of 5 October 1988—it was directed that the staff of the Ministry of Culture be brought to 334 persons. Taking into account the inclusion in it of a new Main Administration for the Protection and Restoration of Monuments and Capital Structures, the former apparatus was to be reduced by more than 90 employees. A large percentage of the cuts involved working pensioners and vacancies that existed at that time.

Briefly, expenditures for the maintenance of the apparatus under the reductions did not decrease, and even increased somewhat. Today the annual fund for the payment of workers of the central apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Culture is R1,234,900.

"There must be a strengthening of the role of social self-administration of culture, which is promoted by the Union of Theatrical Workers and other similar organizations. The USSR Ministry of Culture, in the form that existed over the last few years, was an impediment to the development of our culture." These are lines from a letter by deputies—writer V. Vasilev and Doctor of Philological Sciences V. Ivanov—that was transmitted to commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This point of view was also set forth by a group of deputies in a special Appeal on Cultural Questions that was transmitted to the Presidium of the USSR Council of People's Deputies.

The evaluations directed at the ministry were harsh. They assert: The activity of the USSR Ministry of Culture needs major improvement. It can only be hoped that aggressive control by the deputies and the interested attention of the USSR People's Deputies in this sphere will accelerate favorable changes.

And so, the Ministry of Culture is retained within the structure of the union ministries. The question of an aspirant to the post of minister is still open....

Labor Colony Revolt Ends After 'Dialogue'
*18001362 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Jul 89 p 4*

[Report by V. Mishchenko (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast):
"Dialogue Behind the Barbed Wire"]

[Text] News that in the intensive corrective labor institution near Krivoy Rog the prisoners were refusing to obey the administration caught the attention of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Internal Affairs Administration.

As we approached the colony our attention was immediately drawn to a number of people in black uniforms on the roofs of the blocks. As we later learned, more than 200 prisoners had crawled up there and were refusing to eat. According to their statement, they would halt the hunger strike when their demands were met.

The prisoners insisted that they be heard by the people's deputy for the given okrug, as well as members of the press. This is how the general director of the Krivorozhstal Combine, K. Nosov, and the author of these lines ended up on the grounds of the colony.

A couple of years ago it would have been simple to deal with this situation—give them an ultimatum: Either you crawl down from the roof and return to your places, or we shall call in additional troops and firemen and "remove" you from there.

This time extreme measures were rejected. All the "strikers" had served their first sentence. There was the hope that many of them would try to start a new life after that.

Having learned that a commission had been created, the prisoners came to the clubhouse. Before us sat mainly young men, 20-35 years of age. Their lives were practically still in front of them. It is important that they did not come from the zone bitter against the whole world and were not taken in by the agitation of the thieves in authority: "You are now marked forever; you will no longer be considered a human being."

What did the participants in the hunger strike want? Many of their complaints were justified. For example, they complained about the unsatisfactory medical service, the outdated equipment, the lack of bulletins displaying norms and rates in the shops, and the poor conditions of the meeting rooms. The administration firmly promised to correct the shortcomings in the near future, although it would not be easy. For instance, where could they get modern equipment for the colony when there was not enough of it even at the best plants?

But the demand to release from solitary confinement all prisoners who were supposed to have been put there illegally was unacceptable. We went through all the cells: a militia general, a journalist, the oblast's deputy procurator, and a prisoner designated from the "roof." The majority in solitary admitted that they had been punished fairly. Incidentally, our commission found it possible to release several of them: two because of illness, one because his punishment was considered excessive, and another because both he and the guard were to blame for the incident.

The prisoners demanded a review of many criminal cases in the direction of lightening the sentences. It was explained to them that a certain procedure exists for this and it cannot be violated. The condition of immediately firing two officers was unacceptable. But a clarification was made: If convincing evidence appeared that there had been violations of the law by these workers, those who had stained their reputations would not be retained in the organs.

The situation in the corrective labor institution has now normalized and the prisoners have gone back to work and promised to make up for all that was lost in the near future.

The prisoners themselves think that the policy in the colonies should be strict but fair. And this requires stepping up procurator supervision of corrective labor institutions. If it had been good, the revolt would never have taken place.

Mothers Demonstrate for Conscripts' Rights

LD1807131189 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian
4 Apr 89 p 4

[Article by Sigita Urbonaviciute, entitled "Anguish and Hope"]

[Text] A meeting organized by the Lithuanian Women's Association which voiced aspirations of vital importance for all of us—defense of the rights of Lithuanian youths who are about to enter service in the USSR Armed Forces—took place in Kalnai Park on Sunday. This type of action will extend over a long period of time; thus this meeting was only the beginning. The Lithuanian Women's Association did not seek any demands of a political nature; their goals were of a broader, humanistic nature. This was a meeting of anguish and hope, and these words were heard often. Hope has arisen that there will be someone to defend the mothers who are raising their sons for such trials.

It was pointed out by Reserve Colonel Stanislovas Kairys on behalf of the reserve officers who support the demands of the Women's Organization, "even in the event a soldier chances into a unit where non-regulatory relations are not especially cruel, it has been proved by

scientists—medical and psychological experts—that in shaping a personality, amid strange surroundings and with foreign cultural and national traditions, the result is often disastrous."

The reserve officers' group will demand that starting with the spring callup, soldiers who hail from Lithuania would serve in the Baltic Military District and that national military units be restored. The soldiers time of service would be shortened to 18 months, and professional military service be developed. In peacetime only those young men, in perfect health, would be conscripted.

Vidmante Jasukaityte, representative of Lithuanian Women's Association, admonished that we must be especially circumspect and far-sighted in the struggle on behalf of our sons, since the military system is almost untouchable, due to its closed nature, and is armed to the teeth.

Alas, not everyone comprehends this. Perhaps this can be attributed to a lack of political savvy and not a refusal to listen to the speech of Vacys Reimeris, chief of the Lithuanian Committee For the Defense of Peace, who spoke in metaphors and decorative illustrations. Perhaps this was to express the lack of trust in the activities of the Committee For the Defense of Peace, which did not become any livelier during the past year.

Words not accustomed to until now, "Thank You," echoed through the meeting. They were aimed at the creative Director of the film "Flag From Bricks," Zacharijus Putilovas, and to Chief of "Gaublys" Club, Dr A. Kazlauskas, for preparing for publication the book, "Mothers' Tears."

I would like to explain briefly the demands of the Lithuanian Women's Association: starting with the spring callup, Lithuanian born youths must serve in Lithuania; those whose religious beliefs prohibit them from bearing arms must have a civilian capacity service established for them; until such time, as there is a change in the Armed Forces situation, a parliamentary group must be established to investigate cases related to non-regulatory relations. These and other demands have been publicized; therefore I did not attempt to list them all. We will deliberate them again often, and will think of how we can assist in this matter. One other concrete step which can be currently implemented was suggested: to heavily insure those about to enter the Armed Services; this would force the case to be examined in the event of a mishap.

Flooding Damage in Transbaykal Reported

LD0808083189 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT
8 Aug 89

[Text] Chita August 8 TASS—A powerful southern cyclone has brought downpours to the Transbaykal area, spilling almost a monthly average of rainfall in a matter of hours onto the Chita region and pushing water levels in overflowing rivers up from one and a half to four and a half meters in a day.

The floods submerged dozens of rural homes, killed several thousand head of sheep, destroyed more than a hundred kilometers of roads and 25 bridges, disrupted many communications lines and forced power substations off line.

Many grain and fodder crop fields and vegetables plantations were inundated.

According to preliminary estimates, damage is estimated at 15 million roubles.

A special task force was formed in the region to oversee efforts to deal with the calamity. Quick-reaction rescue teams are on duty in afflicted areas. The population is being evacuated to safety. All evacuees are provided with accommodation and food.

The task force is using the help of Soviet Army units. V. Lazo, first deputy chairman of the regional governing council, told TASS. They are launching pontoon bridges and reinforcing dams and roads. Military helicopters were also used to establish contact with water-bound villages.

Despite measures being taken, the situation remains disquieting. It is exacerbated by acute shortages of fuel and lubricants at local oil distribution centres. Fuel needed for earth-moving equipment and heavy-duty lorries is in especially short supply.

KGB Aids Rehabilitation of Purge Victims

18001365 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 26,
26 Jun-2 Jul 89 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Deputy Chairman of the KGB Colonel General V.P. Pirozhkov by NEDELYA: "To Restore the Honest Name"; date, place of interview not given; first four paragraphs are NEDELYA introduction]

[Text] To restore the honorable names of all who have suffered innocently—this is the topic to which this special issue of NEDELYA History Club is devoted. It is opened by an interview with Deputy Chairman of the USSR KGB V.P. Pirozhkov.

About the Author

V.P. Pirozhkov was born in 1924 in the city of Zelenogorsk, Altay Kray. His graduation from the secondary school coincided with the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. Vladimir Pirozhkov was drafted into the Red Army and actively participated in fighting German-Fascist occupiers. He was one of those who fought for Berlin.

His postwar life has been associated with komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] and party work. He restored and developed the economy of his native kray and devoted much of his effort to the labor and moral upbringing of the young people and the workers.

In 1968 V.P. Pirozhkov was reassigned from the post of second secretary of the Altay Kray Committee of the party to work at the USSR Committee for State Security by a resolution of the CPSU Central Committee. He has gone through various levels in the service, and has conducted extensive social and political work. At present he is a deputy chairman of the USSR KGB and a colonel general. He is a member of the working group of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo for the additional study of materials associated with repressions that occurred in the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's.

[NEDELYA] Vladimir Petrovich, the public of our country is very much interested in how the USSR Committee for State Security takes part in the work of rehabilitating people who were unjustifiably subjected to repressions in the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's, work which is headed by the party. What can you say about this?

[Pirozhkov] First of all I would like to stress that we employees of the state security organs firmly condemn the mass repressions of the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's and the lawless acts committed; sincerely share in the common pain of our people; and wholeheartedly support the decisions of the party on the most urgent and complete rehabilitation of all those innocent persons who have suffered.

As is known, after the liquidation of the ministry headed by Beria, the Committee for State Security was set up, which, beginning in 1954, actively joined in the work of carrying out party and state resolutions on rehabilitating persons subjected to repressions earlier for so-called "counterrevolutionary crimes." KGB personnel have found in the archives and verified a large number of investigation files and other materials that made it possible to rehabilitate more than 700,000 persons between 1954 and 1961.

On 28 September 1987 a CPSU Politburo commission was set up for the additional study of materials associated with the repressions that occurred in the period of the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's. The Committee for State Security is actively aiding the commission.

We may say with confidence that work associated with restoring the honorable name of people and historic and social justice for the victims of repressions is at present foremost in the operations of the state security organs. Many investigators and operatives take part in this work. It is carried out in close contact with the organs of the prosecutor's office and under the continuous supervision of the party organizations and leadership of the USSR KGB.

The Committee for State Security submitted a proposal for the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to pass a special ukase revoking the rulings of non-court organs—"two-member" and "three-member" panels and the "Special Panel" of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of

Internal Affairs] which became an instrument of arbitrary rule and lawlessness. Pursuant to the same ukase, commissions are formed with the participation of people's deputies and representatives of the public with a view to rendering aid to the people rehabilitated in taking advantage of their rights and defending their interests, as well as for creating memorials to the victims of repressions and maintaining their places of burial in proper order. Employees of the KGB organs also take part in the work of these commissions. They provide aid in establishing the locations of mass graves, publishing lists of innocent persons who have suffered, discussing the designs of memorials, and donating personal savings to build them.

Much work on restoring the rights of citizens is carried out on the basis of petitions by those rehabilitated and their relatives who address very varied requests to us. We are asked about the fate of those subjected to repressions, the time and place of their death, the location of graves, confiscated assets, the return of personal documents, and other things. In 1988 the KGB organs have considered more than 10,000 such petitions, and in the first quarter of this year alone more than 12,000.

Witnesses of these years must be found, numerous inquiries must be made at the internal affairs organs, and at state and ministerial archives; and materials of civil status registers at union and autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts must be researched. This is due to the fact that innocent people subjected to repressions were brought up on criminal charges at one location, served their time at another, and were sent into exile at yet another location. The fate of many of them could not be determined.

[NEDELYA] How many people have already been rehabilitated after the Politburo commission was set up? Can you say which strata of the population, professions, age brackets, nationalities, and regions suffered the most?

[Pirozhkov] According to our joint data with the USSR Prosecutor's Office, in 1988 and the first quarter of this year 47,088 persons were rehabilitated.

At present it is premature to talk about any detailed demographic and social analysis of the consequences of mass repressions because rehabilitation work has not yet been completed. However, even now we can say that many of those subjected to repressions were from among the Bolsheviks of Lenin's guard, major army commanders, prominent scientists, engineers, and designers, skilled workers, and rural workers.

For us chekists [KGB personnel] of the new generation, the fate of every innocent victim is particularly painful regardless of who is at issue—a marshal or a soldier, an academy member, or a rank-and-file Soviet citizen. After all, every falsified criminal case goes through our hearts and our hands. Each contains a personal tragedy.

Is the fate of Academician N.I. Vavilov, who brought world fame to the Soviet science of genetics and fell victim to arbitrariness, not tragic? Or that of chekist M.S. Kedrov, a functionary of the state and the party who rose up against the lawless acts that were being committed and who, despite acquittal by the court, was nonetheless shot on the orders of Kobulov and Beria? The fate of separated families, orphaned children who were brought up in orphanages, is particularly painful.

This is why we are doing everything in our power to restore the honorable names, and reinstate the honor and dignity, lawful rights and interests of both the people subjected to repressions and their immediate relatives.

Let me also observe that the organs of the Prosecutor's Office and the courts have not rendered favorable rulings in all cases reviewed. I mean the refusal to rehabilitate persons with regard to whom there is objective evidence of their criminal activities, mainly during the Great Patriotic War.

These are participants of the "national" legions of the Hitlerite army and of fascist formations, members of punitive detachments, policemen, and occupier collaborators, members of nationalist bandit formations and accomplices of the bandits, and persons involved in the falsification of criminal cases and violations of the rule of socialist law. In 1988, 3,492 persons were refused rehabilitation.

[NEDELYA] How many Yezhov and Beria butchers, investigators, and chief prison wardens have been punished, and in what manner? Could you give us examples and name names?

[Pirozhkov] For the gravest violations of the rules of socialist law, 1,342 employees of the NKVD and MGB [Ministry of State Security] were sentenced to various forms of punishment, including execution by firing squad. Among them were Beria, Yezhov, Kobulov, Frinovskiy, Prokofyev, Agranov, Abakumov, and others. In addition to this, 2,370 employees were penalized through party and administrative procedures (fired, deprived of retirement benefits, rank, and so forth). Serious work on purging those who had besmirched themselves in the past from the organs of state security was carried out in keeping with the demands of the 20th and 22d congresses of the CPSU. At present there is not one employee in the ranks of the chekists who was involved in the least in the evil deeds of the Stalinist period.

[NEDELYA] A resolution of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo dated 11 July 1988 reads: "Entrust the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR Committee for State Security with instructing their local organs to continue work on revising the cases of persons subjected to repressions in the 1930's, 1940's, and the beginning of the 1950's, regardless of the presence of petitions and complaints by citizens." What have the local KGB organs succeeded in doing?

[Pirozhkov] Joint instructions by the USSR prosecutor general and the USSR KGB chairman were prepared in July of last year and forwarded to the KGB local organs with a view to executing the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee.

Special groups staffed with investigators and the most qualified operatives were formed at the committees for state security of union and autonomous republics and at oblast and kray KGB administrations. Investigative divisions of the KGB-UKGB [KGB administrations] are additionally investigating some cases. All work is carried out under the supervision of party organs in close contact with the divisions of the prosecutor's office and the courts.

I have already quoted some statistics concerning the review of cases. In addition, I will give you a separate statistic of those rehabilitated in the first quarter on the basis of a ukase dated 16 January 1989 "On Additional Measures for Restoring Justice With Regard to the Victims of Repressions Which Occurred in the 1930's-1940's Period and in the Early 1950's." The rulings of non-court organs (OGPU [United Chief Political Directorate] board, "three-member panels," "NKVD Special Panel") in the cases of 29,111 persons have been revoked. This work is in progress.

[NEDELYA] How are financial and other claims in the cases of those rehabilitated settled?

[Pirozhkov] These issues are considered by the Committee for State Security and its organs locally in keeping with existing legislation, provided, of course, that those rehabilitated or their relatives approach us.

Indemnities for the value of confiscated property are based on the documents (inventories, protocols, receipts, and so forth) that are included in the investigation files. Notarized copies of these documents are forwarded from the KGB-UKGB archives to the finance organs which assess the value of property and valuables taken over by the state and pay it out.

In cases when the investigation files lack documents on the seizure or confiscation of property (it must be said that this is characteristic of many cases from the 1930's and 1940's), the state security organs together with those rehabilitated or their relatives conduct a thorough verification of property claims. Friends, fellow employees, and neighbors are debriefed, and inquiries are made to state and ministerial archives, ispolkoms [executive committees], apartment administrations, and so forth. Conclusions with explanatory notes based on the results of verification are forwarded for consideration to special commissions operating under the financial organs.

At the request of those rehabilitated and their relatives, personal documents and photographs included in some criminal cases are returned, information on state awards is provided, and work tenure, the place of employment, and residence are confirmed.

As far as the sites of graves of the victims of repressions are concerned, we are compelled to give negative answers to inquiries. There is no such information in the archives of the KGB, including the investigation files themselves. Together with the public, we are working on establishing the location of graves, number of those buried, and their names by debriefing old residents, witnesses, former NKVD employees, and others.

At times, extraordinary situations develop when things are made more complex by the lack and nondefinitive character of information, fabrications, and excessive emotions injected by individual citizens that does not necessarily facilitate finding the truth. For example, this is what has happened in Irkutsk.

We should say that the Irkutsk Oblast UKGB is carrying out purposeful work on reconsidering the cases and rehabilitating the innocent Soviet citizens who have suffered. The public is informed extensively about the progress of this work and its results. The oblast and rayon newspapers publish the lists of those rehabilitated in a systematic manner.

Being fully aware that rehabilitation work is not a simple matter, and is politically critical, employees of the administration strive to consider all requests with special balance and verification and try to locate the relatives of the person subjected to repressions in all cases, including in the rayons of the oblast and even other regions of the country.

A group of Irkutsk citizens unexpectedly organized in 1988 the "Wall" informal association after finding in the vicinity of the city old structures (dating back to the 1930's) of a mortar testing ground and proclaiming them to be "a site of mass shootings and graves."

The matter came to the initiation of excavations at this site. Many relatives of persons subjected to repressions began laying flowers and writing names on the concrete wall. Organizers of the "Wall" stirred up passions maintaining that the KGB organs allegedly slowed down the process of rehabilitation and deliberately concealed from the people the site of execution.

Employees of the administration conducted a thorough investigation. In the archives, a resolution of the city ispolkom dated 1934 was found by which the area in question was allocated to the machinebuilding plant for creating a mortar area; veteran production workers were found who witnessed these events. These facts were published in the press.

An oblast "Memorial" association was set up in Irkutsk to commemorate those who perished. It became involved in locating the sites of graves of victims of unjustified repression, restoring the honorable names of all, giving aid to the relatives of those who suffered, and preparing the erection of monuments. Along with the chapter of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Union of Writers, the oblast Council of War and Labor Veterans, the VLKSM [All-Union Lenin Youth Communist League] oblast committee, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, and others, the komсомол organization of the KGB Administration also became a co-founder of the association. A collection of voluntary contributions to the fund of "Memorial" was set up among the employees of the administration.

The KGB Administration receives many letters with expressions of gratitude to the chekists for their work on restoring the truth and justice. Many such examples may be given.

As far as the materials of archive files are concerned, we do not familiarize private individuals with them, primarily for reasons associated with the legislation in effect. We cannot fail to take into account the fact that these materials frequently create a distorted and false impression of the person subjected to repressions himself, his behavior in the course of the investigation and trial, as well as affecting the interests of other persons who have suffered innocently. The main point is not to smear the honest name of a person who has sincerely devoted his life to the cause of the party, the people, and socialism by so-called "confession testimony."

[NEDELYA] It is known that recently the Committee for State Security has been paying special attention to reinforcing the legal training of students at the educational establishments of the committee and active personnel. Apparently the purpose of the USSR KGB is for the socialist law to be strictly complied with in all of its subdivisions, and for the recurrences of the past to be impossible.

[Pirozhkov] Yes, definitely. You have mentioned educational establishments of the USSR KGB. Compliance with the law in our work depends to a great degree on the professional and legal training of their graduates. I will say that the restructuring of operations of the KGB organs and troops has affected the educational establishments first. A qualitatively new approach toward exactly the legal training of future chekists has been determined to be the most important avenue in this matter.

In the leading departments of the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy KGB Higher School, study time for acquiring legal knowledge has been increased by 30 percent. The curricula and programs have been profoundly reworked proceeding from the concept of building a rule-of-law state. The time for training cadets at other KGB educational establishments has been increased from 1 to 1.5 years

with the permission of the government. The additional time is used exclusively for acquiring legal knowledge and developing the practical skill of applying it.

A 2-year program for improving the legal training of active duty personnel in the system of vocational education has been developed. The results of examinations are reflected in the officer's personal file.

The USSR KGB Collegium and party organizations are paying continuous attention to radically improving the legal training of chekist cadres.

Thus in March 1987 a collegium resolution was passed "On Measures for the Further Reinforcement of the Rule of Socialist Law in the Operations of the USSR State Security Organs and USSR KGB Troops." Last year the collegium passed a resolution "On Restructuring the Training and Improving the Skills of Cadres in the USSR KGB Organs and Troops." It is permeated from beginning to end by the concept of continuous improvement of legal training and, based on this, strictest compliance with the socialist law by every subdivision, every employee of the Committee for State Security, imbuing them with high legal culture, profound understanding of the primacy of the law, and the skill of operating on the strict basis of the law.

I will also remind the esteemed readers of your weekly about a resolution of the collegium on the issues of developing glasnost in the operation of the KGB organs and troops passed in April of this year. There have been detailed publications in the press concerning this. The collegium resolution envisages practical measures for developing glasnost in our work. This involves not only the present, but also an objective analysis of the past in order to fully eliminate the consequences of violations of Leninist principles committed at one point. The need for the chekists to resolutely defend the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens was particularly emphasized.

In general, reinforcing the safeguards against a return to the past is the foremost task of the state security organs. We see such safeguards primarily in the strictest compliance with and precise execution of the USSR Constitution, laws, and executive acts by every employee of the committee and all of its subdivisions. As is known, at present the draft Law on State Security is being prepared. We are anticipating its adoption as soon as possible. We support the formation of a committee on issues of defense and state security at the Supreme Soviet to which the KGB reports; this will also serve as an important guarantee of the rule of law. As far as expanding glasnost in the work of the organs... I am convinced that the people should be aware of both the main tasks entrusted to the chekists, and the ways in which they are solved.

I would refer to one more guarantee—the strengthening of the bond with the people. Maintaining state security is our common task.

State monitoring and control of the work of organs and troops of the Committee for State Security is performed, for example, with regard to investigations in the organs—monitoring by the USSR Prosecutor's Office, court monitoring—in the course of court investigation of criminal cases referred by KGB organs. Within the USSR KGB system itself, internal control is in operation.

Therefore, as you can see, the safeguards are quite reliable.

Plutonium Plant's 1957 Explosion Viewed
*PM1807102389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 89 p 2*

[Article by S. Smirnov, S. Belkovskiy, and A. Polushin:
"Nuclear Accident. It Happened in the South Urals 32
Years Ago. But Much Is Unclear to This Day"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk Oblast—Concrete pillars entangled
in rusting barbed wire were lined up next to the stream.

Actually, despite the barbed wire, flocks of geese swam in the stream—everywhere was white as white. Women were washing clothes. A young mother was bathing her 3-year-old child. Boys were fishing. "Do you know it's forbidden?" "Of course we know...." "Do you know why?" "There were atoms here, they say, but to hell with them...." A boy on a motor cycle approached: "Well, check my old bike. Is it crackling?"

A shoal of gudgeon knocked against our feet. We lowered the counter into the silt. Oho! It was really crackling, there was no escaping it!

"I was 11 years old," fitter Zhadvat Fatkullin said. "On that day, like many other inhabitants of Tatarskaya Karabolka village, I was making hay, when there was the sound of an explosion. Of course, we did not know what had happened several dozen km from our village. A few days later military men arrived in Russkaya Karabolka village (it is about 3 km away). There were approximately 340-360 houses in Russkaya Karabolka. They were all destroyed and the remains were dug into trenches. The inhabitants were resettled elsewhere. To this day I do not understand why they did not evacuate the inhabitants of our village."

So what did happen in the fall of 1957?

Immediately after the war an industrial establishment for the production of plutonium for nuclear weapons was created in Chelyabinsk Oblast. In 1948 an industrial reactor was commissioned. A year later the first Soviet nuclear bomb was created using plutonium obtained at this reactor. Soon the bomb was tested. A radiochemical plant was created here to process fuel from the nuclear reactor. From 1949 through 1952 this waste was discarded into... an open expanse of water! Later it was

decided to use closed expanses of water. One of them was Lake Karachay, where 120 million curies were "discharged!" That is 2.5 times more than at Chernobyl).

In September 1957 an explosion of chemical waste occurred as a result of which a reservoir containing radioactive elements was destroyed. These elements formed a radioactive "trail" 105 km long and 8-9 km wide. This time the discharge was 2 million curies.

Over 10,000 people were rapidly evacuated from the contaminated area and a further 7,000 were evacuated from regions of the river Techa (3 villages were completely destroyed and 19 were moved). Some R200 million in present-day prices were spent on eliminating the consequences of the accident.

For over 30 years they kept quiet about the tragedy in Chelyabinsk Oblast. From whom were they concealing the "state secret?" From their own people. Because the West had long known about those explosions.

In the contaminated area they created... a reserve (you cannot find fault with that word). Along the road they erected signs: "It is strictly forbidden to enter the forest and pick mushrooms and berries." But you cannot silence everyone. There has long been talk and rumors about the accident.

We took these rumors to a branch of the USSR Health Ministry biophysics institute. V.L. Shvedov, the branch's director, laughed heartily at us. "There was little radioactive waste in the discharge—just a tablespoonful. All the waste was scattered by the wind over a vast territory. So there is no need to talk of serious consequences to people's health. (Although the people are all being observed by institute staffers). No radiation sickness was observed, there were no deaths. Cancers? There are cancers, but no more than in other regions. The childlessness of some inhabitants? That can hardly be linked to radiation—the dose was not high enough." The branch's former director, I.K. Dibobes, had made a special summer trip to Bagaryak with his wife and children and nothing had happened—there had been no effect on their health....

With Gosman Kabirov (a former radiographer), who comes from Muslyumovo village, we set off for Kunashakskiy Rayon.

Sarvar Shagiakhmetova worked as an observer on the river Techa—she measured the water level and temperature. In the early fifties a thick liquid which sparkled with every color of the rainbow floated along the river. The liquid covered the water in a thick layer—the thickness of a finger. People drank this water and used it for cooking. "In 1953 or 1954, I can't remember exactly," grandmother Sarvar says, "specialists from Moscow were living in our house. They inspected our belongings and suggested we get rid of them—everything was contaminated."

Sarvar is often ill but that can be put down to her age. Sarvar's husband Nurmukhamet died in 1962. A healthy 44-year-old, he had never been ill before. Nurmukhamet had a painful death—he refused water and food and wasted away before her eyes...

We were assured that the defense enterprise had not discharged any chemical or radioactive waste into the Techa. There was possibly a liquid floating on it but some other industrial enterprise must be blamed. The inhabitants of Muslyumovo obviously did not have a very good knowledge of the situation which had taken shape—either before or after the explosion.

The Techa was cordoned off with a wire fence and it was forbidden to catch fish, pick mushrooms or berries, or cut the hay. But there is a stream 50 meters from the vegetable gardens (surprisingly large potatoes grow in them), the geese cannot be chased from it, and the calves graze where they want. Militiamen chased away the berry pickers—they crushed the buckets and burned the hay, but you can't keep an eye on everyone, can you?

Militia Sergeant Ramil Gilmetdinov "tracked" our automobile from behind the reeds on the other bank.

"On what basis have you detained us?"

"On the basis of oblast soviet executive committee resolution No. 249 of 9 August 1988."

The sergeant refused to show us the resolution. The resolution obviously did not apply to the local inhabitants bathing in the Techa (there were two more automobiles next to ours).

Whose interests is the militia protecting from the journalists? Why were they obliged to "excise" paragraphs from the materials prepared by correspondents from the newspaper VECHERNYY CHELYABINSK?

What are they afraid of? The South Urals nuclear electric power station [AES] is being constructed in Chelyabinsk Oblast, and R247 million has already been spent on it. B.V. Nikipelov, first deputy minister of medium machine building, and L.A. Buldakov, member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and deputy director of the Biophysics Institute, visited the oblast recently. "There is no alternative now to the AES," Nikipelov said during a meeting with representatives of the oblast's cities and rayons. Many arguments were found in favor of constructing the AES. Including the argument that scientists had failed to discover any effect of the 1957 accident on people's health or an increase in mortality among the population!

Nonetheless it is hard to believe that the discharge of millions of curies has had no effect on the health of the people of the South Urals.

There were five brothers in the Kabirov family. Yet neither Gosman nor his wife can have children (they adopted a 2-month-old child). The situation is the same for one of Sarvar's sons. And for several of their neighbors on the street. What is this, coincidence? In Muslyumovo we were given the names of several young people who died at the age of 24-25. People here are sure that these are the consequences of those years....

Is that the case? Specialists have a different opinion. But the inhabitants of the afflicted regions can only be persuaded otherwise by making public some details of the accident. For instance, the publication of a map of the radioactive trail could eliminate the question of why the inhabitants of Russkaya Karabolka were evacuated while those of Tatarskaya Karabolka were left where they were.

We were told not to fuel passions. The situation is indeed complex. Many of the evacuees to this day are living in Finnish panelboard huts—the housing is dilapidated, the electrical wiring is in disrepair and it is cold in winter. Will the evacuees not start demanding compensation and an improvement in amenities?

The ecological situation in the Urals is lamentable, to put it mildly. For many years this region has been treated as an enormous factory. But you cannot live forever among factory chimneys, produce incalculable wealth, and receive nothing in return! We hope that the question of the nuclear accident in the Urals and the region's ecological state which was raised at the USSR Supreme Soviet session will give impetus to the solution of these problems. People want to be sure of our future. They want to live, not survive.

Director on Ignalina's Membership in World Body
LD1707141089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian
27 May 89

[Telephone interview with Ignalina AES Director Anatolijus Chromcenka by Jurgis Paskocinas, entitled "One Planet—One Home"; date and place not given.]

[Text]As was announced earlier, Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant has joined the World Association of Organizations for Exploitation of Nuclear Energy (WAMO). I asked Ignalina AES Director, Anatolijus Chromcenka, to tell me more about this association and its goals.

[Chromcenka] During the Moscow Conference of Organizations for Exploitation of Nuclear Energy, it was stated that hydroenergy, the burning of organic fuels, is very harmful to the environment. Fuel oil and gas fueling of thermoelectric power stations contribute a great deal to the warming up of the atmosphere. Nuclear energy is one of the possible alternatives of dealing with a complicated situation. This gives rise to public fear, however. For this reason, it is imperative to ensure nuclear power plant safety.

It was previously thought that every nuclear power plant was solely responsible for its own safety. The purpose of the nongovernmental association WAMO is to make the safety of one electric plant the responsibility of another. What will this accomplish? Members of the associations will operatively inform one another on events at nuclear power stations, will analyze these, arrive at conclusions, and exchange delegations. Americans were the first to act on this. The accident at Three Mile Island Nuclear Power Station in the United States, can be given as an example. Six months prior to that, an analogous situation had threatened another American AES. Its operators reacted correctly, however, thereby averting an accident. Had the operators at the Three Mile Island AES been informed of the others' actions in time, they would have known what to do, and the accident could have been prevented.

The association will establish four centers, which will maintain computer communications with one another. The first center will be located in Atlanta (USA). The nuclear power plants of the United States and Yugoslavia will be its members. The second center will be located in Paris, uniting practically all of the West European AES. The third center will be in the Soviet Union and will encompass our country's, Cuba's, the European socialist countries', and Finland's nuclear power plants. The fourth center will be established in Tokyo. It will unite Asian countries. China will participate there as an observer.

[Paskocinas] The TATENA [UN International Atomic Energy Agency] Commission which will be examining Ignalina AES operations, will visit Lithuania this fall. How are you preparing for their assessment?

[Chromcenka] We have translated the required documents into English and are changing, in accordance with our own plans, older equipment and are doing some reconstruction work. In early June, our electric power plant will be visited by international nuclear committee members Toma and Gonzales. Using their own personal expertise, they will sift through events which had transpired at Ignalina; they will provide their experts for us, to explain these events. The TATENA Commission will visit our electric plant in November. It will evaluate Ignalina AES safety.

Dagestan Official Bans on Religion Deplored
PM0108181989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by own correspondent A. Kazikhanov and TASS correspondent G. Shamov: "Prayers in the Square—And Where Else, If the Local Authorities in Dagestan Do Not Respect Believers' Feelings?"]

[Text] At the end of March a large group of believers seized the Palace of Culture in the settlement of Nizhniy Dzhengutay in Buynakskiy Rayon. This old building

once housed a mosque, and the Muslims were demanding that it be returned. Talks went on for several days, and only when the situation was almost out of control did the local authorities meet the believers' wishes.

About a month ago several hundred people tried to storm the building of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the North Caucasus in Makhachkala. Their demands were that a piece of land in Makhachkala be allocated for the construction of a new mosque (the old one is housed in a barn), that the mufti of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the North Caucasus be removed from office, and that they be given the opportunity to elect someone else in his place. In a matter of hours a decision was made to meet the demands of the gathering....

We have only described the two most famous events which took place in Dagestan in recent months. However, similar though less scandalous incidents had taken place earlier.

Why do such things happen?

For the last 30 years requests from Dagestan's believers for the registration of religious communities were constantly refused. Of the republic's 40 rayons, only 13 have a mosque. Thousands of elders had to travel 10-20 km daily to perform religious observances.

A total of 156 holy buildings, many of which are of architectural value (they were built in the 16th-18th centuries), have fallen into disrepair, some of them have now become clubs or collective farm storehouses, and 33 mosques are currently being quickly converted into sports halls.

"A Congress of Muslims of the North Caucasus has not been held for over 10 years here," M.M. Babatov, imam of the mosque in the settlement of Tarki, says. "Any request from the Muslims runs up against bureaucratic barriers; just you try and get a place of worship officially opened in your village or rayon..."

A few years back the believers were resigned to such an attitude toward them. But now they have started demanding legitimate respect for their feelings and holy places and observance of the right to freedom of conscience and religion enshrined in the USSR Constitution. And of course it is not a matter of artificially increasing the number of religious establishments but of observing the law and our democratic norms.

We are not justifying the extreme methods to which they sometimes resort in trying to solve their problems. However, neither can the methods of administrative pressure on the believers be called lawful.

"I addressed the party oblast committee bureau three times and showed that the demands of many religious communities are just, and people would agree with me, but someone from the leadership only had to frown for

things to come to a standstill," Sultanakhmed Devrishbekov, commissioner for religious affairs in the Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Council of Ministers, explained.

The completely unreasonable prohibitions artificially fuel passions, irritate people, and prompt them to act rashly.

"There are quite a number of people who want to officially register their religious societies in our republic," Kh. Gamzatova, deputy chairman of the Dagestan ASSR Council of Ministers, said. "The law has not been functioning for a long time. Any attempt to open a mosque was decisively stopped by ideological workers. On the other hand, religious fanatics have become more active and have begun openly trying to get to power in the Spiritual Administration...."

In one village party workers agreed to return the mosque, which had been turned into a club, but on one condition: In return the Moslems should build a new Palace of Culture. "Newspapers write that in Russia 2,000 parishes and churches have been opened, but we are prohibited everything. So is it one rule for the Russians and another for us Muslims?" And the response to this is just more bans. Instead of telling the public that Moscow is seeking to open mosques, and it is only through the fault of the local authorities that the resolution of this problem is delayed.

The hedgers in Dagestan are afraid of gaining the reputation of nationalists and followers of Islam. There is still a strong tendency to keep a cautious eye on Moscow: What will they say there? This habit of keeping an eye on offices in the capital develops an ability to suppress your native history, language, and national holy places for the sake of your career....

Today, in order to receive permission to register a religious community, believers must submit an application to the rayon soviet executive committee, and from there it will go to the Dagestan ASSR Council of Ministers, then it will be sent to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and USSR Councils on Religious Affairs, and so on. Rather too many official bodies. And so maybe the republic's Supreme Soviet should be granted legislative rights and be turned from a petitioner and writer of documents to an independent legislative body which resolves all arguments on religious questions on a legal basis. Plus, of course, glasnost and thorough debate of the most acute problems. Silence and half-truths lead to conflicts and aggravation, which are too abundant as it is. So why provoke new ones?

Contents of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS Previewed
PM1907160189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS"]

[Text] Issue No 7 of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS has been published and is being distributed to subscribers. It opens with information on the party Central Committee's work in June. It publishes the program for action on

the results of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum approved by the Central Committee Politburo, which covers the spheres of political and organizational work, socioeconomic and legal policy, and interethnic relations. A series of documents cover progress in the fulfillment of previously adopted decisions.

The journal carries an account of a sitting of the CPSU Central Committee International Policy Commission, which discussed progress in restructuring the mechanism of the USSR's economic cooperation with foreign countries. The same sitting examined ideological, political, and military aspects of the start of World War II. The commission members exchanged opinions on events in 1939, the appraisal of Soviet-German treaties, the interpretation of the war's nature, and its main lessons.

Readers will find in this issue a report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Bureau on its analysis of the work of the Vologda and Smolensk Oblast party organizations' auditing commissions, and information on the work of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, which examined in June the results of 7 inspections and 66 appeals and applications by Communists.

The journal continues its publication of documents from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for the Further Study of Materials Associated With the Repressions Which Took Place in the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties. On this occasion, the documents describe the so-called "Moscow Center" case and the "Kremlin Case."

The "Information and Chronicle" Section informs readers of the results of a seminar-conference of ideological workers in Grodno, changes in the subscription print runs of several central newspapers and journals in the 1st 6 months of 1989, and a USSR People's Control Committee memorandum on the unsatisfactory state of affairs regarding the output and quality of sausage products.

The party's international ties are covered by a chronicle of talks, meetings, and conversations in June. There is also biographical information about Reszo Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

A series of items in the journal have been specifically prepared at readers' requests. They include detailed information on the CPSU's ethnic composition, and an account of the voting results during the election of central party organs at the 17th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress, and specifically the number of votes cast against I.V. Stalin.

Material on the CPSU Central Committee mailbag offers a note about letters from foreign citizens and a report on topics covered in letters sent to the CPSU Central Committee in 1988 by union republics.

The issue's archive section contains a documentary chronicle of the party Central Committee's activity in January-March 1919, and the conclusion of G.V. Zinov'ev's reminiscences about V.I. Lenin. It also carries a memorandum by famous economist N.D. Kondratyev on the problems of USSR agriculture's development which he wrote in 1928 on instructions from the Central Committee Politburo Commission for the 15th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress.

The section ends with six previously unpublished letters from A.M. Gorkiy and a brief report on the illegally published IZVESTIYA TSK RSDRP in 1907.

Economic

Economic Analyst Discusses Joint Ventures

LD0708141589 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT
7 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—By TASS economic analyst Andrey Orlov:

Heated debates between Soviet economists and businessmen over the expediency of joint ventures in the Soviet Union and the "political consistency" of foreign capital in a nation with socialist goals have ended only recently.

Some specialists also doubted the ability of these structures to become an organic part of the Soviet economy.

Two and a half years that have passed since the adoption of the first documents on joint ventures answered most of these questions. The main conclusion, which can be drawn today, is that the new form of cooperation promotes integration of the Soviet and world economies.

More and more joint ventures are appearing on Soviet territory. Late in 1988 there were about 300, and by August 1, 1989, 722 joint businesses functioned in the Soviet Union. The total sum of their authorised funds has now topped 1.6 billion roubles.

West Germany, Finland, the U.S., Italy and Austria are major partners of the Soviet Union. Joint ventures have united firms and organisations from 23 industrially developed nations, sixteen developing countries and nine socialist states. It takes more time with the latter, but restructuring of CMEA countries' activities is expected to improve the situation.

It is of course worrying that the majority of joint businesses are involved in the non-production sphere. These ventures are more profitable and much less risky as compared to these engaged in production. However, this may be a temporary twist and the measures recently adopted by the Soviet parliament on granting freedom to enterprises are likely to attract foreign partners and contribute to the creation of profitable and viable production ventures.

A list of 320 projects open for joint enterprises in 1989-1995 on Soviet territory has been drawn up to increase the number of production ventures. The list, reflecting structural, technological and investment priorities of the development of the economy, includes 69 projects in the agro-industrial sector, 60 in the chemical and timber industries, 50 in the social sphere, 48 in machine-building and 33 in the building industry.

If this large-scale programme is implemented, joint ventures will fully coincide with Soviet economic tasks.

Military

Maksimov Discusses Military Uses of Space

PM0708112389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General A. Maksimov, USSR Defense Ministry chief specialist on missile and space systems and their development prospects, by Colonel M. Rebrov under the rubric "Portrait in Light of Glasnost": "Logic of Large Numbers"; place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Rebrov] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, military space expenditure received publicity recently. It was stated to be the considerable sum of R3.9 billion. A considerable figure. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers are interested in how these billions are distributed, and for what? What is the logic, as it were, of large numbers?

[Maksimov] Would you like me to break them down?

[Rebrov] Just so. Frankly and in detail.

[Maksimov] Frankness will probably be relative. Quite a lot has been said and written about possible aspects of the use of space technology for military purposes. Artificial earth satellites can fulfill very different functions, including intelligence functions. They are capable of resolving and do resolve tasks of establishing stable radio communications over great distances, which means that they make it possible to control troops at the operational-strategic level and, subsequently, at the tactical level too. Spacecraft make it possible to substantially specify the characteristics of the earth's gravitational field, to make a geodesic survey of continents and individual objects, to create a unified world geodesic network.... Navigational satellites are needed to determine the precise location of ships, aircraft, and other mobile means of transportation. Specialized satellites make meteorological and hydrodynamic observations with a view to enhance the operational effectiveness and accuracy of weather forecasts in particular regions, as well as determining the nature of the ice situation. Space technical means have been developed in these and other areas and have specialized in individual tasks with a view to enhance the accuracy and volumes of information obtained and passed on....

[Rebrov] Not only does the military need satellites for navigation, weather forecasting, cartography, rescue...

[Maksimov] Yes, that is so. If you turn to history, you can find a great number of examples where military affairs have made use of the latest achievements of natural science and technology for their own purposes. Past wars show that the use of new means of struggle has given a decisive advantage to the side which mastered them first and used them on the battlefield.... Let us recall Engels. He wrote: "Nothing so depends on economic conditions as the Army and Navy. Armament, makeup, organization, tactics, and strategy depend, above all, on the degree of production reached at that moment and on the means of communication." Cosmonautics is no exception in this sense.

[Rebrov] Consequently, space technology can become a combat weapon?

[Maksimov] It can. And a very formidable weapon. The Soviet Union has opposed and is opposed to the militarization of outer space. The fact that the arms race in space will cost mankind hundreds and thousands times more than the rivalry in missiles and nuclear weapons is not at issue here. The "star wars" idea harbors a danger to all terrestrial civilization and poses a real threat of a space apocalypse. Judge for yourself: The United States intends to create [sozdat] by the midnineties a system designed to hit spacecraft from the sea and from land. Like weapons for destroying ballistic missiles, the ASAT antisatellite system is one component of the militarization of space, which the Pentagon is carrying out within the framework of the "star wars" program. Such a system, if commissioned, will do great harm to international security and the atmosphere of trust and hinder the peaceful research and use of space. I will add: The satellites for which the Pentagon intends to hunt include ones which pass on important information on the location of weapons systems and troop subunits and which are an effective means of verifying observance of the treaties concluded on arms limitation and disarmament. In August 1983 the Soviet Union announced a unilateral moratorium on ASAT-type weapons and intends to adhere to it as long as other states display prudence.

[Rebrov] You said "as long as." Yet it is no secret today that the United States would like to let the "space jinn" out of its laboratories as quickly as possible in order to acquire military superiority.

[Maksimov] Unfortunately, this is so. In addition to the ASAT system, the United States is carrying out a great volume of work on creating [sozdaniye] various types of space weapons based on new physical principles. It is a question of using particle accelerators, lasers, microwave radiation, and so forth. The United States is trying to circumvent the ABM Treaty by means of all kinds of verbal subterfuges and, essentially, to wreck this and other agreements. Proof of this is provided by its desire to put strike combat means into orbit. Tests in space of

a generator and emitter of neutral particles and of various laser systems and the project with the exotic title "smart rocks"—all this pursues quite definite ends. This work is still at the research stage, but we must give it a definite evaluation right now.

It should be said that the position of the military department is increasingly being criticized in the United States itself. Experts warn that the continued militarization of space could negate the Soviet-U.S. disarmament effort and threatens the country's national security.

[Rebrov] How is this to be understood?

[Maksimov] The arms race is called a race because it pushes the opposing side into creating analogous means, as well as antisystems which are more powerful and more compact. This in turn gives rise to the desire to do something still more effective. A chain reaction begins.

[Rebrov] Another amplification. Your words could be taken to mean that we will be forced to create [sozdat] our own SDI.

[Maksimov] I would like our conversation to take place along the lines of logic, not guesses. And logic is such—incidentally, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has spoken of this—as to find the most inexpensive and most simple means of making SDI ineffective and pointless.

[Rebrov] Let us return to the areas of the military use of space technology which you named. How is reconnaissance from space to be coordinated with legal norms?

[Maksimov] International law does not prohibit spacecraft from overflying foreign territories. Regarding the SALT II Treaty, it directly provides for the use of national means to verify observance of international accords.

Some specialists in the West use the term "covert glasnost on a world scale." It is invested with this meaning: We have been living without war for more than 4 decades because we look intently at each other from space.

[Rebrov] Is this a relevant question: What potential does space technology have for resolving these tasks?

[Maksimov] Perfectly relevant. Space reconnaissance makes it possible to obtain an image in the visible spectrum with resolution down to 0.2-0.3 meters. This means that from orbit it is possible to see every player on a soccer pitch, to determine whether a bomber of the B-1 type is equipped with missiles... Radiotechnical reconnaissance makes it possible to locate radiation in practically all bands and to determine the coordinates of the source of this radiation.

This is one aspect of the matter. The second aspect is that space reconnaissance makes it possible to intercept radio conversations. With the help of retransmitter satellites all

this information can be obtained in close to real time. From space it is possible to keep track of missile launchers and issue a timely early warning of a possible attack.

[Rebrov] Information of this kind will be of value only if there is permanent observation.

[Maksimov] Naturally. It is necessary to "watch" continuously, every minute. For this it is necessary to have several special satellites and to replace them as their operating life comes to an end.

[Rebrov] This increases the cost of information.

[Maksimov] Yes. But are you not prepared to pay any price to know in good time about an attack that is being prepared? Hence another figure: According to calculations by USSR Defense Ministry specialists, the implementation of military space programs alone will enhance our Armed Forces' combat efficiency 50-100 percent. The role of national space reconnaissance means increases particularly with the adoption of a defensive doctrine.

[Rebrov] Please describe in greater detail the economic effectiveness of other spacecraft used in the interests of the military department.

[Maksimov] I have already spoken of long-distance communications systems. Several dozen apparatuses are in various orbits today, ensuring telephone, telegraphic, facsimile, and other kinds of communication, as well as satellites used to retransmit very diverse information. The saving as a result of using these means may be estimated conditionally at R1.5 billion a year.

The selection of the optimum routes for surface ships, submarines, auxiliary vessels, and aircraft is of tremendous significance, including economic significance. And satellite navigation systems make it possible to achieve high accuracy here. Moving objects use them to determine their coordinates within an error of tens of meters. Following the most advantageous routes makes it possible to save up to R500 million. I could continue and say that space technology is irreplaceable today for drawing up topographic maps.

Certain sums are spent on operating our three cosmodromes, ground measuring centers, computer coordinating centers, communications complexes... These technical means are used by the USSR Academy of Sciences,

Intercosmos, the Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology, the "Priroda" State Center... These, briefly, are the classes of expenditure. Such, as you said, is the logic of big figures. [Passage omitted]

Yazov Congratulates Chemical Defense Graduates
LD0708130389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 07 Aug 89

[Text] [Excerpts] The 12th graduation of students has taken place at the Tambov Podvoiskiy higher military command school of chemical defense. [passage omitted]

Army General Yazov, USSR defense minister congratulated the school's graduates on becoming officers.

Ex-Soldier Condemns Lithuanian Uniform Burning
PM0708104389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[Reader's letter under the rubric "First Response": "Will the Fire Burn Long?"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] "A Fire of a... Soldier's Uniform"—that was the headline of the 13 July commentary by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Captain First Class Professor N. Kostikov. On the basis of mail from readers the scholar analyzed why attitudes toward the Army had become exacerbated in the Baltic republics. And now new letters have started to arrive....

I was struck most of all by the fact that a soldier's uniform was burned during a rally held by the Lithuanian "Union of Independents" in Vilnius. As far as I understand it, the informants conceived this act in order to protest the "occupying functions" of our Armed Forces. I do not think these people are deluded. There is something else at work here—a desire to exacerbate the situation.

I myself am a Lithuanian who served 26 years in the Army. I was transferred to the reserve only last year. My son is also a serviceman, so you could say that we take a family pride in the Armed Forces and the uniform. I take the act in Vilnius as a personal insult. I support the proposal that this shameful incident be thoroughly investigated. A. Shlepikas, Arkhangelsk Oblast.